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A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF THE DYSFUNCTIONS OF BUREAUCRACY,

TEACHER ALIENATION, AND ANOMIE

by

© HENRY GRAHAM ARMSTRONG

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1970

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend
to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled
"A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF THE DYSFUNCTIONS OF BUREAUCRACY, TEACHER
ALIENATION AND ANOMIE", submitted by HENRY GRAHAM ARMSTRONG in
partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Education.

ABSTRACT

        The study reported in this thesis investigated the components
of bureaucratic organization to discover how these components may,
and under what conditions, be dysfunctional. Weber's model of
bureaucracy was used in the determination of the bureaucratic
components.

        Seeman's model of alienation was adapted to identify the
components of alienation. The study then sought, through library
research, to discover how the dysfunctions of the components of
bureaucracy may be dysfunctional in producing teacher alienation.
A macro conceptual model was developed to show the inter and intra-
relationships between the components of bureaucracy and the
components of alienation.

        A micro model was then developed to conceptualize the
adaptations and adaptive behaviors of alienated individuals. In the
first dimension of the micro model, Merton's model of adaptations was
amended and translated for use in an educational setting. The
adaptive behaviors of individuals were synthesized from the research
of the macro and the micro models.

        The concepts of the macro and the micro models, together
with the other variables of anomie, cultural transmission, and
differential association, included in the study, were synthesized
to produce a comprehensive conceptual model of bureaucratic
dysfunctions, teacher alienation, adaptations, adaptive behavior and
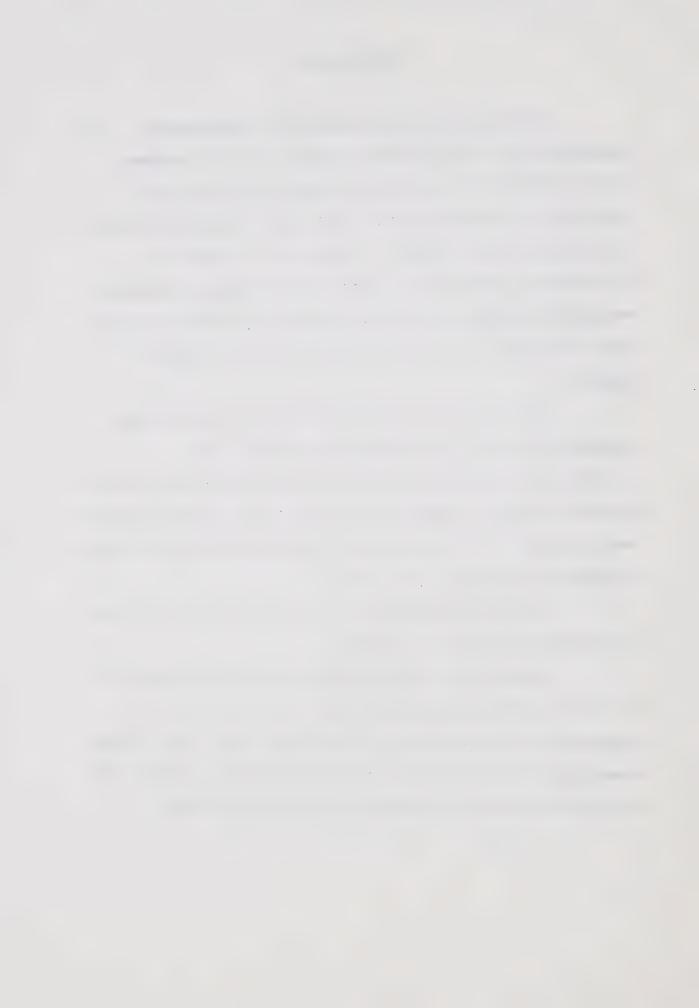anomie.

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work and facilitated the completion of this research report.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction to the Study

Some years ago the Faculty of Education at The University of Alberta introduced a vocational education program in response to the demand for vocational educators created by the Federal Provincial Training Agreement. The program recruited mature individuals from the worlds of business and industry with vocational competence in their own particular areas of specialization. Most of these recruits to the teaching profession entered the high schools of the province following a period of study at the university.

Casual observation appeared to indicate a significant change in the behavior and attitudes of many of these new teachers following a period of teaching in the comprehensive high schools of the province.

A review of the literature, through library research, indicated that studies which had been completed, and which were directed at teacher alienation, had areas of conflict in their findings. Many of these studies attempted only to measure one component of alienation without reference to the total concept. A second area of conflict was that some of the studies had not measured the degree of alienation they purported to measure, but had mistakenly measured the adaptive behavior of the individual. Because of this a research design for the present study was formulated to identify and distinguish the causes and effects of alienation.

A glossary of terms for the study is found on page 83.

Purpose of the Study

One of the secondary purposes of this study was to develop a conceptual model of the dysfunctions of bureaucracy, patterned after Weber, and to relate these dysfunctions to certain aspects of teacher alienation—the macro model. The second purpose of this research was to develop a micro model of the adaptations of alienated individuals and of the behaviors which these individuals might exhibit. The major purpose of this investigation was to synthesize the macro and micro models into a paradigm to conceptualize the interaction of the cause-effect relationships.

Background for the Research

There have been many studies of the eufunctionality and dysfunctionality of bureaucratic organizations. These studies have been conducted by such outstanding scholars as: (Chris Argyris, 1960; Peter M. Blau, 1956; Peter F. Drucker, 1964; Amatai Etzioni, 1961; William H. Form, 1962; George C. Homans, 1950; Robert K. Merton, 1952; Deibert C. Miller, 1962; Max Weber, 1947; and William F. Whyte, 1961).

The concept of alienation is at least as old as the writings of Karl Marx. A growing awareness of the concept has attracted the attention of scholars in philosophy, psychology and sociology. In more recent years scholars in sociology such as Nettler (1957) and Seeman (1959) have conducted studies which translated the concepts of alienation into more empirical terms. Studies such as Clark's (1959) have attempted to measure alienation within social systems.

Many studies in educational organization have made use of

the growing fund of knowledge in the sociology of formal organizations.
Some of these studies have attempted to relate specific dysfunctions
of bureaucracy to certain types of teacher dissatisfactions, and many
of these studies have enjoyed a measure of success. O'Reilly (1967)
and Schmidt (1968) are among the more recent examples of such studies.

Need for the Study

With special reference to the problem outlined in the intro-
duction, any loss in the production of highly trained well educated
specialists would represent large social and opportunity costs. A loss
in productivity could be created through complete withdrawal from the
profession, or withdrawal in the form of adaptive behavior.

Complete withdrawal may be more likely in the case of
vocational teachers. The same vocational competence that made them
attractive recruits in the first instance, gives them a greater degree
of occupational mobility. This occupational mobility may be atypical
of the teaching profession at large where training and education tends
to create a "locked-in" situation.

The need for this study, to develop a conceptual model of
the dysfunctions of bureaucracy and its effects on teacher alienation,
was best expressed by Flizak (1968) who wrote:

> What happens to our schools may to a large extent be
> determined by the very structure of the school's
> organization. Thus, in order to make any significant
> changes within the end product of this process, it may
> be necessary to concern oneself not only with curriculum,
> schedules, methods, materials, teacher training, remedial
> programs and educational gadgetry, but also with the
> organizational structure and related dynamics within the
> frame of which people live, study and work. School
> situational organization influences teachers modes of
> thinking, feeling and behaving. If Teachers (adults) are

thus influenced, to what extent are the children and youth [p. 1]?

(The parentheses are from the original.)

Limitations

This study had the following limitations:

1. It did not attempt to rank possible dysfunctions of
    Weberian bureaucracy in terms of dysfunctionality.

2. This investigation did not study the eufunctionality
    of the Weberian model.

3. The study was limited to the meaning of alienation
    within the framework developed by Seeman (1959).

4. The study does not attempt to identify those individuals
    who may be alienated from the organization or who display
    adaptive behavior as a result of their alienation from the
    total social structure.

5. The study does not take personality variables into
    consideration, apart from the consideration that such
    variables may cause different types of adaptive behavior.

Assumptions

This investigation was based on the assumption that under
ideal organizational conditions, and in the absence of some prior
negative conditioning experience in organizational life, the individual
will:

1. Want to be involved in and committed to the goals of the
    organization;

2. Seek responsibility and participation in the decision
    making process;

3. Identify with the organization; and work diligently
    toward the goals to which he is committed.

Method

The method used in this study involved an intensive review
of scholarly works of researchers and scholars in organizational
sociology, social psychology, and psychology, to identify:

1. The components of bureaucracy

2. The components of alienation

3. The dysfunctions of the components of bureaucracy

4. The relationship between bureaucratic dysfunctions
    and alienation

5. The adaptations of alienated individuals

6. The adaptive behaviors of individuals

7. The dysfunctionality of adaptive behaviors.

Max Weber's (1947) model of bureaucracy and Seeman's (1959)
model of alienation were adopted in developing the macro model.
Merton's (1938) model of adaptations was used to develop the micro
model.

A paradigm was designed to incorporate the concepts of
dysfunctional bureaucracy, alienation, adaptations, and behaviors,
which, according to the related literature, are inter- and intra-
related and produce anomie.

CHAPTER 2

Review of Literature

Assumptions

The assumptions on which this study was based may be open to question due to the fact that they are opposed to some commonly held beliefs in and relative to our culture.

Argyris (1957) added to the "Self-actualization" concept of Maslow when he developed the "Basic self-actualization trends of the human personality". Subsequent to demonstrating a lack of congruency between organizational and individual needs, Argyris developed the needs of individuals based on the assumption that human beings in our culture tend to develop:

   (a)   From a state of passivity as infants to a state of increasing activity as adults.
   (b)   From a state of dependence as infants to a state of relative independence as adults.
   (c)   From being capable of behaving in a few ways to being capable of many different ways.
   (d)   From having erratic, casual, shallow, quickly dropped interests to having deeper interests.
   (e)   From having short time perspective to having long time perspective.
   (f)   From a subordinate position in family and society to aspiring to occupy an equal and /or superordinate position relative to peers.
   (g)   From lack of awareness of self as an infant to an awareness of control over self as an adult [p. 57].

McGregor (1960) has summarized the following conclusions relative to human motivation:

   (a)   The expenditure of physical and mental effort in work is as natural as play or rest.
   (b)   Man will exercise self-direction and self-control in the service of objectives to which he is committed.
   (c)   Commitment to objectives is a function of the rewards

associated with their achievement.[1]

(d) The average human being learns, under proper conditions, not only to accept but to seek responsibility.

(e) The capacity to exercise a relatively high degree of imagination, ingenuity, and creativity in the solution of organizational problems is widely, and not narrowly distributed in the population.

(f) Under the conditions of modern industrial life, the intellectual capacities of the average human being, are only partially utilized [pp. 47-48].

In the empirical research studies of O'Reilly (1967) and Schmidt (1968) the distinct personality characteristics were not significant variables in the determination of need deficiency and teacher satisfaction.

Approaching the problem in different perspective, Fromm (1957) stated:

There are good reasons for the widespread belief in man's innate laziness. The main reason lies in the fact that alienated work is boring and unsatisfactory; that a great deal of tension and hostility is engendered, which leads to an aversion against the work and everything connected with it [p. 92].

Argyris (1957) endorsed Fromm, reviewed previous research on the subject of human motivation and had this to report:

It seems safe to infer, therefore, that the critical factors causing the apathy and non-involvement are related to organizational structure and workflow [p. 93].

The manifestations of these concepts were discovered by Dubin (1956) in a study of 491 workers. In this study Dubin concluded that work was no longer a central life interest of these workers [p. 141].

Mentioned above is the concept that rewards do not necessarily mean monetary or material rewards. In a study of a large corporation, Gordon (1945) reported that money was a minimum condition for

---

[1]Discussed later is the concept that these rewards are not necessarily monetary or material.

motivation. The more powerful incentives included power, prestige, security, adventure, fulfillment of the creative urge, and identification with the group [p. 313].

The support already given for the assumptions has been summed up by Argyris (1957):

> When the properties of human personality are matched to the analysis of the formal organization, the concept evolves that healthy individuals will tend to have their self-actualization blocked or inhibited because of the demands of the formal organization [p. 76].

On the basis of the work of these scholars the assumptions made in this study appear to be valid.

The Macro Model

Model of Bureaucracy

Max Weber outlined "The Essentials of Bureaucratic Organization: An Ideal Type Construction" in The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (Trans. A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, ed. Talcott Parsons, 1947, pp. 329-340) when he wrote:

> The effectiveness of legal authority rests on the acceptance of the validity of the following mutually inter-dependent ideas.
>
> 1.   That any given legal norm may be established by agreement or by imposition, on grounds of expediency or rational values or both, with a claim to obedience at least on the part of the members of the corporate group. This is, however, usually extended to include all persons within the sphere of authority or of power in question—which in the case of territorial bodies is the territorial area—who stand in certain social relationships or carry out forms of social action which in the order governing the corporate group have been declared to be relevant.
>
> 2.   That every body of law consists essentially in a consistent system of abstract rules which have normally been intentionally established. Furthermore, administration of law is held to consist in the application of these rules to particular cases; the administrative process is the rational pursuit of the interests which are specified in the order

governing the corporate group within the limits laid down by legal precepts and following principles which are capable of generalized formulation and are approved in the order governing the group, or at least not disapproved in it.

3.   That thus the typical person in authority occupies an "office". In the action associated with his status, including the commands he issues to others, he is subject to an impersonal order to which his actions are oriented. This is true not only for persons exercising legal authority who are in the usual sense "officials", but, for instance, for the elected president of a state.

4.   That the person who obeys authority does so, as it is usually stated, only in his capacity as a"member" of the corporate group and what he obeys is only "the law". He may in this connexion[2] be the member of an association, of a territorial commune, of a church, or a citizen of a state.

5.   In conformity with point 3, it is held that the members of the corporate group, in so far as they obey a person in authority, do not owe this obedience to him as an individual, but to the impersonal order. Hence, it follows that there is an obligation to obedience only within the sphere of the rationally delimited authority which, in terms of the order, has been conferred upon him.

The following may thus be said to be the fundamental categories of rational legal authority:—

(1) A continuous organization of official functions bound by rules.

(2) A specified sphere of competence. This involves (a) a sphere of obligations to perform functions which has been marked off as part of systematic division of labour. (b) The provision of the incumbent with the necessary authority to carry out these functions. (c) That the necessary means of compulsion are clearly defined and their use is subject to definite conditions. A unit exercising authority which is organized in this way will be called an "administrative organ".

There are administrative organs in this sense in large-scale private organizations, in parties and armies, as well as in the state and the church. An elected president, a cabinet of ministers, or a body of elected representatives also in this sense constitute administrative organs. This is not, however, the place to discuss these concepts. Not every administrative organ is provided with compulsory powers. But this distinction is not important for present purposes.

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[2]Spelling from original.

(3) The organization of offices follows the principle of
hierarchy; that is, each lower office is under the control
and supervision of a higher one. There is a right of appeal
and of statement of grievances from the lower to the higher.
Hierarchies differ in respect to whether and in what cases
complaints can lead to a ruling from an authority at various
points higher in the scale, and as to whether changes are
imposed from higher up or the resonsibility for such changes
is left to the lower office, the conduct of which was the
subject of complaint.

(4) The rules which regulate the conduct of an office may be
technical rules or norms.[3] In both cases, if their
application is to be fully rational, specialized training is
necessary. It is thus normally true that only a person who
has demonstrated an adequate technical training is qualified
to be a member of the administrative staff of such an
organized group, and hence only such persons are eligible for
appointment to official positions. The administrative staff
of a rational corporate group thus typically consists of
"officials", whether the organization by devoted to political,
religious, economic—in particular, capitalistic—or other ends.

(5) In the rational type it is a matter of principle that the
members of the administrative staff should be completely
separated from ownership of the means of production or
administration. Officials, employees, and workers attached
to the administrative staff do not themselves own the non-
human means of production and administration. These are rather
provided for their use in kind or in money, and the official
is obligated to render an accounting of their use. There
exists, furthermore, in principle complete separation of the
property belonging to the organization, which is controlled
within the sphere of office, and the personal property of the
official, which is available for his own private uses. There
is a corresponding separation of the place in which official
functions are carried out, the "office" in the sense of
premises, from living quarters.

(6) In the rational type case, there is also a complete
absence of appropriation of his official position by the
incumbent. Where "rights" to an office exist, as in the case
of judges, and recently on an increasing proportion of

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[3]Weber does not explain this distinction. By a "technical
rule" he probably means a prescribed course of action which is
dictated primarily on grounds touching efficiency of the performance
of the immediate functions, while by "norms" he probably means rules
which limit conduct on grounds other than those of efficiency. Of
course, in one sense all rules are norms in that they are prescriptions
for conduct, conformity with which is problematical. —Ed. (Parsons)

officials and even of workers, they do not normally serve
the purpose of appropriation by the official, but of
securing the purely objective and independent character
of the conduct of the office so that it is oriented only to
the relevant norms.

(7) Administrative acts, decisions, and rules are
formulated and recorded in writing, even in cases where oral
discussion is the rule or is even mandatory. This applies
at least to preliminary discussions and proposals, to final
decisions, and to all sorts of orders and rules. The
combination of written documents and a continuous organization
of official functions constitutes the "office" which is the
central focus of all types of modern corporate action.

(8) Legal authority can be exercised in a wide variety of
different forms which will be distinguished and discussed
later. The following analysis will be deliberately confined
for the most part to the aspect of imperative co-ordination
in the structure of the administrative staff. It will consist
in an analysis in terms of ideal types of officialdom or
"bureaucracy".

The four major components of Weber's model bureaucracy would

appear to be;--

1.   A hierarchy of authority.

2.   Written rules.

3.   Specialization.

4.   Impersonality.

Components of the Model of Alienation[4]

Seeman (1959) outlined the five components of alienation

as being: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation

and self-estrangement [pp. 783-791].

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[4]All underscoring in the review of literature represents
italics in the original.

Powerlessness

The ideal of alienation as powerlessness is, perhaps, the most frequent usage in current literature. This variant of alienation can be conceived as the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks.

Let us be clear about what this conception does and does not imply. First, it is a distinctly social-psychological view. It does not treat powerlessness from the standpoint of the objective conditions in society; but this does not mean that these conditions need be ignored in research dealing with this variety of alienation.

Second, this version of powerlessness does not take into account as a definitional matter, the frustration an individual may feel as a consequence of the discrepancy between the control he may expect and the degree of control that he desires—that is, it takes no direct account of the value of control to the person.

In this version of alienation, then, the individual's expectancy for control of events is clearly distinguished from (a) the objective situation of powerlessness as some observer sees it, (b) the observer's judgment of that situation against some ethical standard, and (c) the individual's sense of a discrepancy between his expectations for control and his desire for control [pp. 783-784].

Meaninglessness

Writing on the definition of meaninglessness Seeman said;

This second type of alienation, then refers to the individual's sense of understanding the events in which he is engaged. We may speak of high alienation, in the meaninglessness usage, when the individual is unclear as to what he ought to believe—when the individual's minimal standards for clarity in decision-making are not met.

It would seem, for the present at least, a matter of no consequence what the beliefs in question are. They may, ..., be simply descriptive beliefs (interpretations); or they may be beliefs involving moral standards (norms for behavior). In either case, the individual's choice among alternative beliefs has low "confidence limits": he cannot predict with confidence the consequences of acting on a given belief. One might operationalize this aspect of alienation by focusing upon the fact that it is characterized

by a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about
future outcomes of behavior can be made. Put more simply,
where the first meaning of alienation refers to the sensed
ability to control outcomes, this second meaning refers
essentially to the sensed ability to predict behavioral
outcomes [p. 784].

Normlessness

In developing his concept of normlessness Seeman used the work

of Durkheim as a benchmark. To describe normlessness Seeman wrote:

The third variant of the alientation theme is derived from
Durkheim's description of "anomie", and refers to a
condition of normlessness. In the traditional usage, anomie
denotes a situation in which the social norms regulating
individual conduct have broken down or are no longer
effective as rules for behavior.

It is clear that the general idea of anomie is both an
integral part of the alienation literature, and that it bears
upon our expectancy notions. What is not so clear is the
matter of how precisely to conceptualize the events to which
"anomie" is intended to point. Unfortunately, the idea of
normlessness has been over-extended to include a wide variety
of both social conditions and psychic states: personal
disorganization, cultural breakdown, reciprocal distrust,
and so on.

Those who employ the anomie version of alienation are
chiefly concerned with the elaboration of the "means"
emphasis in society—for example, the loss of commonly held
standards and consequent individualism, or the development
of instrumental, manipulative attitudes. This interest
represents our third variant of alienation, the key idea of
which again, may be cast in terms of expectancies. Following
Merton's lead, the anomic situation, from the individual
point of view, may be defined as one in which there is a
high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are
required to achieve given goals. This third meaning of
alienation is logically independent of the two versions
discussed above. Expectancies concerning unapproved means,
presumably, can vary independently of the individual's
expectancy that his own behavior will determine his success
in reaching a goal (what I have called "powerlessness") or
his belief that he operates in an intellectually comprehensible
world ("meaninglessness").

Isolation

Seeman defined isolation when he wrote;

The fourth type of alienation refers to isolation. This
usage is most common in descriptions of the intellectual
role, where writers refer to the detachment of the
intellectual from popular cultural standards—one who, in
Nettler's language, has become estranged from his society
and the culture it carries. Clearly, this usage does not
refer to isolation as a lack of "social adjustment"—of the
warmth, security, or intensity of an individual's social
contacts.

In the present context, in which we seek to maintain a
consistent focus on the individual's expectations or
values, this brand of alienation may be usefully defined
in terms of reward values: The alienated in the isolation
sense are those who, like the intellectual, assign low
reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly
valued in the given society. This, in effect, is the
definition of alienation in Nettler's scale, for as a
measure of "apartness from society" the scale consists
(largely though not exclusively) of items that reflect the
individual's degree of commitment to popular culture.
Included, for example, is the question "Do you read Reader's
Digest?" a magazine that was selected "as a symbol of
popular magazine appeal and folkish thoughtways".

The "isolation" version of alienation clearly carries a
meaning different from the three versions discussed above.
Still, these alternative meanings can be profitably applied
in conjunction with one another in the analysis of a given
state of affairs. Thus, Merton's paper on social structure
and anomie makes use of both "normlessness" and "isolation"
in depicting the adaptations that individuals may make to the
situation in which goals and means are not well coordinated.
One of these adaptations—that of the "innovator"—is the
prototype of alienation in the sense of normlessness , in
which the individual innovates culturally disapproved means
to achieve the goals in question. But another adjustment
pattern—that of "rebellion"—more closely approximates what
I have called "isolation". "This adaptation (rebellion)
leads men outside the environing social structure to envisage
and seek to bring into being a new, that is to say, a greatly
modified, social structure. It presupposes alienation from
reigning goals and standards" [p. 788].

Self-Estrangement

As an introduction to this final variant of alienation, Seeman recognized that the most extensive treatment of self-estrangement is to be found in Fromm's "The Sane Society". Seeman added:

> In the following analysis I have chosen the concept of alienation as the central point from which I am going to develop the analysis of the contemporary social character ... . By alienation is meant a mode of experience in which the person experiences himself as an alien. He has become, one might say, estranged from himself [p. 789].

Seeman continued to develop the concept of self-estrangement by synthesizing the work of other scholars on the subject.

> In much the same way, C. Wright Mills comments: "In the normal course of her work, because her personality becomes the instrument of an alien purpose, the salesgirl becomes self-alienated"; and, later, "Men are stranged from one another as each secretly tries to make an instrument of the other, and in time a full circle is made: One makes an instrument of himself and is estranged from it also" [p. 790].

Seeman recognized the different usage of the term and attempted to bring the concept into sharper focus when he wrote;

> I refer to that aspect of self-alienation which is generally characterized as the loss of intrinsic meaning or pride in work, a loss which Marx and others have held to be an essential feature of modern alienation. This notion of the loss of intrinsically meaningful satisfactions is embodied in a number of ways in current discussions of alienation. Glazer, for example, contrasts the alienated society with simpler societies characterized by "spontaneous acts of work and play which were their own reward".
>
> Although this meaning of alienation is difficult to specify, the basic idea contained in the rhetoric of self-estrangement—the idea of intrinsically meaningful activity—can, perhaps, be recast into more manageable social learning terms. One way to state such a meaning is to see alienation as the degree of dependence of the given behavior upon anticipated future rewards, that is, upon rewards that lie outside the activity itself. In these terms, the worker who works merely for his salary, the housewife who cooks simply to get it over with, or the other-directed type who acts "only for its effect on others"—all these (at different levels, again) are instances of self-estrangement. In this

> view, what has been called self-estrangement refers
> essentially to the inability of the individual to find
> self-rewarding—or in Dewey's phrase, self-consummatory—
> activities that engage him [pp. 790-791].

Authority and Powerlessness

"Authority" in this research means the authority exercised by the member of the bureaucracy over subordinates. From the individual's point of view, however, the authority may be viewed as the individual occupying the next highest position on the hierarchical ladder. The bureaucracy above that point may be perceived as an impersonal mass (Tronc, 1969, pp. 8-9).

"Powerlessness" according to Seeman (1959, p. 789) is "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes or the reinforcements he seeks". This limits the concept to one of social psychology in its applicability inasmuch as it relates to expectancies that have to do with the individual's sense of influence.

The effect of authority on the worker frequently creates a situation where the worker is excluded from the decision-making process. In the event that the worker has no role in decision making, he clearly has low expectancy relative to the effect of his own behavior. That authority is dysfunctional in producing this type of alienation has been demonstrated in a study where worker effectiveness was increased through increased worker participation in the decision-making process (Coch and French, 1948, pp. 512-532).

Blau's (1963) concept of "strategic leniency", where the supervisor tolerates the minor infractions of rules and procedures to solicit higher porduction levels, can be a eufunctional dimension of

authority [p. 397]. Etzioni (1961) points out that practices like this will inevitably be discovered by the worker and perceived as "coercive power" which leads the employee to negative involvement [p. 135]. Should the worker discover that he has been subjected to this kind of power his expectancy of his own behavior relative to outcomes would probably reduce.

The extent of supervision exercised by the authority will produce a corresponding rate of frustration and dissatisfaction in the worker. In the case of close supervision the worker's behavior ceases to be a product of the self (Argyris, 1957, p. 170).

Blau and Scott (1962) pointed out that authoritarian leadership, through producing feelings of inferiority and inequality, places the worker in a situation where his behavior is under control. A feeling of powerlessness results, producing apathy, and in some cases antagonism [p. 62].

Worthy (1963) noted that the dysfunctional effect of authority can be reduced by simplifying the administrative hierarchy and making possible a far higher degree of centralization of authority and responsibility [p. 272].

Schmidt's (1968) study demonstrated a significant negative relationship between the level of teacher satisfaction and the level of hierarchical authority of a school.

Schmidt's study also found no significant relationship between the level of perceived hierarchical authority and the size of the school. Based on this, one might expect to find no difference in the level of alienation between schools of varying size.

The notion that alienation is a product of the dysfunctions

of bureaucratic organization was given some support in the finding that the level of teacher satisfaction is at its lowest after a certain number of years of experience (Schmidt, 1968, p. 56). Whether this phenomenon is the product of increased powerlessness caused by increased subjection to dysfunctional bureaucratic authority remains a question of further research.

O'Reilly's (1967) research of teacher's needs indicated;

The gap between the professional's need for autonomy and the provision for that need by the organization is greatest in the area of course content, and progressively smaller in the areas of evaluation and discipline [p. 128].

This finding has an even greater bearing on the relationship between bureaucratic dysfunctions and alienation in the light of O'Reilly's third hypothesis which stated;

No. 3. It is hypothesized that highly satisfied teachers will obtain lower deficiency scores than will less satisfied teachers [p. 128].

The findings of O'Reilly's investigation supported this hypothesis. There was a significant negative correlation between a teacher's satisfaction with his present position and his need deficiency score. (Need deficiency being the difference between the autonomy the teacher desired and that which he perceived he had). "Thus need deficiency may be used as a predictor of teacher satisfaction" [p. 128].

Another hypothesis, which O'Reilly stated in his research, was;

No. 4. Teachers in schools where there is high standardization will obtain higher need for autonomy scores than teachers in schools where there is low standardization, when the effects of sex, experience, and training, have been statistically controlled.

The result of his findings indicated that the highest need for autonomy scores were reported in the schools with very low

standardization. "It was suggested that such was the case because these teachers with high needs may have demanded such freedom and had administrators who were capable of granting it." Scores of the other three groups followed the order predicted in the hypothesis [pp. 129-130].

Possibly the most dysfunctional form of authority as a cause of powerlessness and alienation was found in Hertsler's (1961) study which indicated that, bureaucratic leaders of low potential are more rigid and directive with subordinates.

Authority and Meaninglessness

Meaninglessness is characterized by a low expectancy that satisfactory prediction about future outcomes of behavior can be made. "Whereas powerlessness emphasized the sensed ability to control outcomes, meaninglessness refers to the sensed ability to predict behavioral outcomes (Seeman, 1959, p. 786)".

Seeman (1959) developed the above operational concept of meaninglessness on the grounds that it matters not whether the beliefs in question are descriptive or moral, the important point is that "the individual's choice among alternative beliefs has low confidence limits: he cannot predict with confidence the consequences of acting on a given belief [p. 786]".

> The intellectual who remains free may continue to learn more
> and more about modern society, but he finds the centres of
> political initiative less and less accessible ... . He
> comes to feel helpless in the fundamental sense that he
> cannot control what he is able to foresee (Mills, 1951, p. 157).

In the event that the teaching situation fits this concept, powerlessness and meaninglessness may be difficult to distinguish.

The employee's feeling of meaninglessness may be compounded when he looks up the hierarchical structure.

> Although the top executives do not sanction these
> dysfunctional activities, the participants recognize
> their existence and even build elaborate defenses to hide
> the truth from the top. At lower levels there are sanctions
> against producing according to ability ... . At the upper
> levels, subordinates tend to 'think positive' (which means
> remaining within tolerance limits set by top management);
> they create and maintain just-in-case-the-president-asks-
> files; they create win lose competitions between groups;
> and they throw the dead cat over the other fellow's
> fence (Argyris, 1968, p. 3).

Such a view of the organization and authority structure would produce low expectancy of ability to predict behavioral outcomes. In relating Argyris to the teacher an interesting possibility is the relation between the "just-in-case-the-president-asks files", and the "just-in-case-the-superintendent-comes lesson plan".

Seeking possible cures for the bureaucratic dysfunctions, Argyris (1968) suggested that individuals must be able to trust themselves and others. A lack of this trust will result in a higher probability of a lack of communication, valid information, and the development of internal commitment. "The capacity to trust oneself and others is partially related to the factors that the individual brings with him to the organization and partially by the milieu in which he works [p. 4]."

It would seem possible that a milieu lacking the trust advocated by Argyris, could produce a state of meaninglessness in the individual.

There appears to be an evolving awareness in some business enterprises of the dysfunctions of authority as they manifest themselves in worker alienation.

Harwood Manufacturing, a Virginia firm which makes wearing apparel, has experimented with giving the employees more responsibility and authority to question work procedures and to influence production decisions and job designs ... . Several different approaches, in which differing degrees of responsibility were shared between production people and engineers, were tried. What worked best was turning the problem completely over to the employees, with the engineers acting as consultants rather than, as some workers put it 'management hatchet men'. Changes in this direction have led to marked increases in quality and productivity at Harwood, as well as a reduction in employee turnover from 18 per cent to 6 per cent a year and a lowering of absenteeism from 17 per cent to 4 per cent a year (Marrow, 1968, p. 4).

This study of the effects of reduced authority in the hierarchical structure would appear to indicate a reduction in both powerlessness and meaninglessness. Under these conditions the worker may have increased expectancy to determine the outcomes of his behavior and an increased expectancy to be able to predict behavioral outcomes.

Involvement of the employee in working toward a common goal may well be a method of reducing alienation. As demonstrated by the Harwood plant study, employee involvement had a direct effect on external indicators. Inference has been made that this effect is the product of reduced powerlessness and normlessness. This inference may have some support in Yuzuk's study. Yuzuk (1961) reported that the major components of satisfaction was employee involvement in progress toward a common goal.

The view of Worthy (1963), discussed in a previous section under Authority and Powerlessness, may also be applicable to the above discussion.

The view of the ends of an organization may be lost in what Merton (1963) called "The sanctification of the means".

> Through sentiment formation, emotional dependence upon bureaucratic symbols and status, and affective involvement in spheres of competence and authority, there develop prerogatives involving attitudes of moral legitimacy which are established as values in their own right, and are no longer viewed as merely technical means for expanding administration [p. 378].

Where the means are sanctified and become ends in themselves the individual may lose purpose in his work-life and his expectations relative to predictions about future outcomes is likely to drop.

The hierarchical structure of authority further increases meaninglessness through the upward sifting of information process. In some instances authority structure is such that only favourable upward reporting will occur. Information which subordinates feel is displeasing to superordinates will be sifted out in the upward flow of communication (Noland, 1968).

The findings of Schmidt (1968) and O'Reilly (1967), outlined in the Review of the Literature under Authority and Powerlessness, relate the findings of educational research to the findings of industrial research, as they relate to meaninglessness.

Authority and Normlessness

Seeman defines normlessness as "a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals".

> Those who employ the anomie version of alienation are chiefly concerned with the elaboration of the means emphasis in society—for example, the loss of commonly held standards and consequent individualism, or the development of instrumental manipulative attitudes (Seeman, 1959, p. 787).

The development of instrumental manipulative attitudes mentioned above serve as a reminder of the dysfunctions of authority in the form of Blau's "Strategic Leniency" and Etizioni's

"coercive power". Normlessness, therefore, may be a further product
of the manifestations of bureaucratic authority.

Merton (1959) described anomie or normlessness as being
present in a situation where the disciplining effect of collective
standards has been weakened. In North America, for example,
culturally prescribed goals are mostly success goals and these are
not congruent with the means available to the individual for their
attainment. Merton argues that the result of this situation is anomie
or normlessness to the extent that "the technically most effective
procedure, whether culturally legitimate or not, becomes typically
preferred to institutionally prescribed conduct [p. 789].

The concept of normlessness discussed above ties into the
concept of the "sanctification of the means" as a manifestation of
bureaucratic dysfunctions of authority (Merton, 1963).

The individual in a milieu of bureaucratic power and
normlessness may adapt in a number of different ways. He may become
less goal and more procedure oriented or he may adapt in one of the
other forms suggested by Merton.

> Insofar as one of the most general functions of the social
> structures is to provide a basis for predictability and
> regularity of social behavior, it becomes increasingly
> limited in effectiveness as these elements of the social
> structure become dissociated ... . The victims of this
> contradiction between the cultural emphasis or pecuniary
> ambition and the social bars to full opportunity are not
> always aware of the structural sources of their thwarted
> aspirations. To be sure they are typically aware of a
> discrepancy between individual worth and social rewards.
> But they do not necessarily see how this comes about.
> Those who do find its source in the social structure may
> become alienated from that structure and become ready
> candidates for rebellion. But others, and this appears to
> include the great majority, may attribute their difficulties
> to more mystical and less sociological sources ... . In a
> society suffering from anomie, people tend to put stress on
> mysticism; the workings of Fortune, Chance, Luck [p. 787].

Some of the structural forces which thwart the individual's aspirations, are informal in nature, as in the case of selection for promotion. A study conducted by Dalton (1951) of 226 careers in managerial hierarchy, revealed no formal pattern of selection and promotion in terms of; age at entry, rate of advancement, occupational experience, or type of educational training. He found the criteria for promotional advancement to include; religion, ethnic background, political beliefs, and participation in accepted organizations.

Tronc (1969), in a study of promotional aspirations of 1,069 teachers, 65 vice-principals, and 67 principals proportionally stratified from 71 randomly selected schools, found:

> When assessing the leader behavior appropriate for their own present position, and also when describing the actual leader behavior of their immediate superiors, vice-principals and principals with a strong desire for advancement perceived a significantly higher frequency of Initiating Structure (Means) and a significantly lower frequency of consideration (Goals), than their colleagues who did not possess strong promotional aspirations.
>
> (The parenthesis are from the original)
>
> Level of promotional aspirations proved to be directly related to deference and to perceptions of Initiating Structure and inversely related to consideration (Tronc, 1969, pp. IV-V).

Deference in Tronc's study referred to "the individual's readiness to order his behavior to accord with his perceived expectations of what is pleasing to those who occupy higher positions" [p. 11].

> Initiating structure refers to the leader's behavior in delineating the relationship between himself and the members of his group, and in endeavouring to establish well defined patterns of organization, channels of communication and ways of getting the job done. Consideration refers to behavior indicative of friendship, mutual trust, respect, and warmth in relationship between the leader and members of the group (Halpin, 1956, p. 22).

A synthesizing of the concepts of Seeman and Merton with the findings of Tronc may serve to strengthen some of the concepts. If, in the case of the educational institution, the student and his education are the ends, and the school organization is the means, then Tronc's study tended to support means emphasis, and sanctification of the means. On the basis of Tronc's findings it could be concluded that this is restricted to the upwardly mobile with high occupational aspirations. This will be discussed in Chapter 4 with reference to climbing the organizational ladder as a form of adaptative behavior.

Consideration, behavior indicative of friendship, respect and warmth in relationships, would probably represent socially approved behavior for educators. If this assumption is accurate then Tronc's finding, of an inverse relationship between promotional aspirations and consideration, tends to indicate a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve the given goals of promotion. This expectancy was, of course, the perception of those with promotional aspirations.

Tronc's reference to deference may be related to the loss of self discussed earlier.

Argyris (1968) went one step beyond "socially unapproved behavior" in his discussion of "Organizational Illnesses", when he stated:

> Hiding illegal activities places the participants in a psychological bind. They know such behavior is administratively wrong; on the other hand they believe honestly that they would not be able to survive without permitting it [p.3].

Authority and Isolation

Seeman (1959) defines isolation as the individuals who

"assign low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society" [p. 788].

Describing the adaptations of alienated workers, Argyris (1959, p. 120) stated that one adaptation was climbing the organizational ladder.

Reference is made again to Tronc's (1969) study which, together with the above concept of climbing the organizational ladder, indicates that those with promotional aspirations, and who were on their way up the organizational ladder, did assign low reward value to goals or beliefs that were assumed to be held in the given society.

Another adaptation listed by Argyris (1959, p. 120) was absenteeism. Absenteeism, without just cause in a society that values the work ethic, would also tend to indicate low reward value of social beliefs.

The phenomena of absenteeism was explored by Yuzuk (1961).

> The majority of research in the field shows a positive
> relationship between employee satisfaction and low rate
> or absenteeism [p. 4].

Hall and Lawler (1968) in a study of 25 research and development systems found:

> The importance, to the researcher, of opportunity for
> personal growth and development decreased with time in
> position and in organization and age [p. 25].

Seeman (1959) indicated that isolation may be measured by the degree of commitment.

Blau (1962) stated that hierarchy of authority in bureaucracy often produced profound feelings of inequality and apathy that impede identification with the organization [p. 69].

The possible effects of this bureaucratic dysfunction and

isolation has been indicated by Fielder (1968, p. 25) who claimed that jobs with non-uniform events have to have emotional ties. The teacher in dealing with his clients is confronted with non-uniform events.

Another form of adaptive alienation suggested by Argyris (1957) was quite different, in concept, from the above.

> The employee may decrease the psychological importance of one set of factors (the organization or the individual). He may decide to say 'to hell with the organization', thereby clearing the way, whenever a choice is required, between the organization and himself, to fulfill his own needs. This mode of adaptation results in apathy, lack of interest, decreased involvement and lessened loyalty toward the set of factors rejected.

> It seems safe to infer, therefore, that the critical factors causing the apathy and non-involvement are related to organizational structure and work-flow [p. 93].

Authority and Self-Estrangement

In a previous quote from Seeman he defines self-estrangement as "the degree of dependence of the given behavior upon anticipated future rewards [p. 790].

Self-estrangement, as Seeman has defined it, would appear to be a conceptual opposite of the self-actualization as defined by Argyris.

A review of the work of Argyris, and others, may serve to establish a theoretical cause-effect relationship between bureaucratic authority and self-estrangement or the blocking of self-actualization.

> Psychologically healthy people ... usually have goals of self-actualization or enhancement (Argyris, 1957, p. 28).

> The basic parts of the personality are all the same— needs and abilities (Argyris, 1957, p. 35).

> On the basis of logical analysis, it is concluded that the formal organization principles make demands of relatively

healthy individuals, that are incongruent with their needs.
Frustration, conflict, failure, and short time perspective
are predicted as resultants of this basic incongruity
(Argyris, 1957, p. 74).

The basic impact of the formal organization structure is to
make the employees feel dependent, submissive and passive
and to require them to utilize only a few of their less
important abilities (Argyris, 1957, p. 75).

Argyris stated also that the demands of the formal organization

will block the self-actualization of healthy individuals [p. 76].

The employee will experience conflict to the extent that
the demands made upon him by the formal organization are
antagonistic to his needs. As the antagonism increases,
the employee increasingly finds himself in the situation
where fulfilling his needs frustrates the fulfillment of
his formal organizational requirements (Argyris, 1957, p. 77).

Some possible modes of reaction listed by Argyris include;

leaving the organization, climb the organizational ladder and transfer

to another job along the work-flow whose newness may provide

temporary opportunity for satisfaction (Argyris, 1957, p. 78). When

the latter is compared to the mobility figures for teachers,

(Alberta Teachers Association, Mobility Study, 1968) there is a

possible indication of the inclusion of teachers in the concept.

Merton and Kitt (1953) have indicated that before a person

begins to climb the organization ladder he must identify with the

values of the administrative hierarchy. This identification isolates

the individual from the work group, he is no longer a member of the

group. "He proceeds to climb the organizational ladder and

estrangement results [p. 405]."

The apathy and disinterest in the individual, generated by

the dysfunctions of bureaucratic authority, "may lead him to place

more value on material rewards and to depreciate the value of human

non-material rewards" (Argyris, 1957, p. 79).

The writings of Fromm (1955) appear to suggest that the
incidence of self-estrangement is fairly widespread.

> While the managerial or professional groups have at least
> considerable interest in achieving something more or less
> personal, the vast majority sell their physical, or an
> exceedingly small part of their intellectual capacity to
> an employer to be used for the purposes of profit in which
> they have no share, for things in which they have no
> interest, with the only purpose of making a living, and
> for some chance to satisfy their consumer's greed [p. 295].

Schmidt (1968) in his study supported a negative relationship
between teacher satisfaction and the degree of hierarchical authority
in the school [p. 41]. Schmidt pointed out that his finding appeared
to support MacKay (1964) whose study suggested that teachers would
probabily be more satisfied with a school low in hierarchical authority
[pp. 89-90].

> MacKay's (1964) research revealed;
>
> Scores on hierarchical authority as measured by the
> Organizational Inventory correlated significantly with
> productivity. An observed emphasis on authority
> relationships was found to be associated with low
> productivity, as measured by Grade IX examinations scores
> from which the effects of scholastic aptitude of pupils
> had been removed [pp. 165-166].

Written Rules and Powerlessness

The written rules of the educational bureaucracy include;
the common law, as it manifests itself in the many court decisions,
provincial legislation and regulations made under that legislation,
school board regulations and regulations of a particular school. Yet
another form of written rules, which affects the work of the teacher,
is the many constraints placed upon him by the budget.

The teacher is told verbally that he has considerable
latitude and autonomy in the adaptation of the curriculum to the needs

of his students and in the use of additional or alternative textbook

materials (Hrabi, 1969). On the other hand the Department of Education

regulations are quite explicit that only the recommended texts or

those approved by the School Board may be used in the class room

(Province of Alberta, Department of Education, Regulation 10(E) (F)).

The incongruency here may be the result of the bureaucratic authority

protecting itself in the event of public controversy. As Argyris has

stated "throwing the dead cat over the other fellow's fence".

Argyris (1959, p. 119) has suggested two possible adaptations

of this form of frustration. In the case of the teacher he may become

defensive and indulge in the type of projection activities that

projects the blame to the authority structure, the political structure

or the student. On the other hand he may become apathetic, disinterested

and non ego involved.

O'Reilly's study may be relative to the lack of congruence of

teachers needs, as defined in that study, and the written rules of

curriculum. This study is based on the theories of Argyris in

Personality and Organization.

> The significance of the study is the successful use of the
> concept of congruency to predict motivation and effectiveness,
> and the suggestion that congruency is in fact an indirect
> but valid measure of satisfaction (O'Reilly, 1967, p. 45).

In many organizations the written rules in the form of budgets

not only establish the goals of the organization but limit the means

(Argyris, 1963). Many educators would probably disagree that budgets

determine both the means and the ends of education. On this issue

Galbraith (1967) had this to say:

> It is the vanity of educators that they shape the educational
> system to their preferred image. They may not be without

influence but the decisive force is the economic system.
What the educator believes is latitude is usually latitude to
respond to economic need [p. 238].

The rules, as they evolve from the budget and the economic
determinants of the larger social structure, as they are likely to
be manifested in the budget, if perceived by the teacher, may yield a
low expectancy that his behavior cannot determine the outcomes or
reinforcements he seeks.

Written Rules and Meaninglessness

Written rules in Weber's model are intended to be functional
in that they standardize procedures and provide the individual with certain
guidelines, however, they may be dysfunctional in the real world. Some
scholars have indicated how rules become dysfunctional. An examination
of some of the work of these scholars may indicate how the dysfunction-
ality of rules could affect the individuals expectancy that satisfactory
predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made.

Merton (1957) developed the concept of "Manifest and Latent
Functions" and has distinguished between the two concepts.

The first (manifest) referring to those objective
consequences for a specified unit (person, sub-group,
social, or cultural system) which contribute to its
adjustment or adaptation and were so intended; the second
(latent) referring to unintended and unrecognized
consequences of the same order [p. 63].

In the elaboration of the concept Merton referred to the
"Hawthorne Effect". The increase in production was a manifest
function, the increase in worker motivation was a latent function.
When the experiment started, what has since become known as the
"Hawthorne Effect" was neither intended or recognized (Merton, 1957,
pp. 64-65).

The concept of strategic leniency (Blau, 1963), discussed on page 16, where minor rule infractions are tolerated to solicit employee loyalty and increased production, would probably represent a latent function of rules. There is, of course, the possibility that the rule was made for the purpose of "strategic leniency", in which case it would be a manifest function.

Latent functions, by their definition, would make the rule dysfunctional in producing meaninglessness. Latent refers to unintended and unrecognized consequences and meaninglessness is a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made.

Argyris (1959) mentioned a latent function of rules in his list of adaptation of frustrated employees, namely, the formation of informal groups. The informal groups are on occasion formalized into Trade Unions to protect the employee from the rules of the bureaucracy [p. 120].

Merton (1963) stated another concept of the dysfunctionality of rules when he wrote:

> Adherence to the rules, originally conceived as means, becomes transferred into an end-in-itself; there occurs the familiar process of displacement of goals whereby an instrumental value becomes a terminal value [p. 376].

There would appear to be a connection between meaninglessness and rules in the concept of displacement of goals. Rules are subject to change. In the event that the rule becomes a terminal value, and since the rule is subject to change, the individual might be expected to have a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made.

Written Rules and Normlessness

The concepts of written rules and normlessness may have more
in common than the other pairs of concepts being examined here. Written
rules represent the formal expression of expected or approved behavior.
Normlessness represents a loss of approved standards of behavior of a
loss of sanctions (Seeman, 1959, p. 787).

Dubin (1958) has pointed out that rules tend to be a permanent
part of bureaucratic organizations and are not as subject to change
as the organization itself. Many organizations are dynamic with the
result that rules become out of date. In many cases the actual
practice is, by necessity, quite different from the established rules
[p. 360].

The situation that Dubin described would constitute normless-
ness in most cases. Unless rule breaking is socially approved, the
situation would be one where there is a high expectancy that socially
unapproved behavior is required.

The sanctification of the means discussed earlier, as a
dysfunction of written rules, and the findings of Tronc (1969) where
the rules were sanctified in certain cases at the expense of
consideration, would tend to indicate a cause effect relationship
between written rules and normlessness. A lack of consideration, as
Tronc defined it, would probably not be socially approved behavior.
A sanctification of the means could, therefore, be said to create
circumstances in which there is a high expectancy that socially
unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals.

"An effective bureaucracy demands reliability of response
and strict devotion to regulations." There is no provision for

individual or social values. To make provision for these values would greatly reduce the reliability of the response (Merton, 1963, p. 377). In the event that the social values are in conflict with the response demanded by the rules, then the bureaucratic rules could produce normlessness.

The high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals appears to exist in the following quotation from Argyris (1968).

> The upper levels tend to adapt by insisting that it is realistic and mature not to make waves, to withhold upsetting information, to accept interpersonal mistrust and win-lose competition as an unchangeable part of human nature. This leads them to behave as if their employees cannot be trusted (with important information)which makes their original assumptions about human nature a self-fulfilling prophecy. The dysfunctional activities and the psychological binds become part of the system so that new participants quickly learn (or are quickly helped to learn) the importance of not making waves, mistrust, etc. [p. 3].

Dubin (1958) cited a situation of contradictory rules where the rules can be normless within themselves. Contradictory rules do not appear to be infrequent in bureaucratic organizations [p. 99].

A further clue to the dysfunctionality of written rules is found in O'Reilly's (1967) study. O'Reilly found that standardization was high in the area of course content, high in the area of evaluation, and low in the area of discipline. Teachers' need deficiency was high in course content, moderate in evaluation, and low in discipline [p. 129].

The above findings would indicate that teachers were given relatively more freedom and were less rule bound in an area that often requires face to face confrontation with their clients. In the more impersonal area of course content, that seldom requires individual

confrontation, the teacher is more rule bound. Should the teacher perceive this differentiation as being a self-preservation mechanism of the bureaucracy, then this phenomenon could produce normlessness.

Written Rules and Isolation

Much of the literature reviewed under Authority and Isolation, and Written Rules and Normlessness, is applicable to show that written rules may cause individuals to assign a low reward to goals and beliefs that are typically valued in a given society. Merton's (1963) statement may help to bring these concepts together. He said:

> Such devotion to rules leads to their transformation into absolutes; they are no longer conceived as relative to a given set of purposes [p. 183].

The devotion to rules and the adaptations of climbing the organizational ladder together with the findings from Tronc's (1969) study, would tend to indicate that the dysfunctionality of rules produces a state of isolation.

The isolation may, as Argyris suggested, go the other way and take on the form of absenteeism or transfer to another position. In this case the employee, who may be frustrated by the rules, may have assigned a low reward value to the goal of success.

Written Rules and Self-Estrangement

In terms of the literature reviewed under Authority and Self-Estrangement, it would appear necessary to show that the dysfunctions of written rules block the self-actualizing processes of the individual.

In 1958 Dubin stated that the pursuit of over-specified

rules may sabotage organizational operation by prohibiting the flexibility necessary for change [p. 96].

Litwak (1961) stated that written rules are frequently a hindrance in an organization involved with non-uniform events. In this case neither the individual or the organization may be able to handle new situations [pp. 177-184].

Nolan (1968) argued that organizations are dependent on a dynamic environment and that written rules may render an organization incapable of change and adaption to the environment. The more mature worker in the organization may feel too severely restricted and frustration will ensue.

It would appear that under certain conditions the individual's self-actualization could be blocked by rules.

Perhaps the idea that rules can block the self-actualizing process of the individual can best be seen in Merton's (1963) concept of "trained incapacity". This concept may best be understood through the processes that produced trained incapacity.

1. An effective bureaucracy demands reliability of response and strict devotion to regulations.

2. Such devotion to rules leads to their transformation into absolutes; they are no longer conceived as relative to a given set of purposes.

3. This interferes with ready adaptation under special conditions not clearly envisaged by those who drew up the general rules.

4. Thus the very elements which conduce toward efficiency in general, produce inefficiency in specific instances (Merton, 1963, p. 377).

Specialization and Powerlessness

Worthy (1963) and Merton (1963) noted that specialization can lead to a narrowing of interests to the particular area of specialization and a loss of interest in the organization as a whole.

Dubin (1958) indicated that the specialist views his position and the organization with extreme narrowness [p. 96].

In the case of a school system, specialization frequently creates a multiple line of authority. One line dealing with the business administration of the system and the other with the affairs of education, with separate lines according to program and subject area. The division of interests and objectives between the economical and the educational tend to aggravate the frustrations already discussed under Written Rules and Powerlessness.

Merton and Kitt (1953) noted that over-specialization can lead to a loss of social significance.

It would appear possible that in a work milieu of intense task specialization, where the worker's skills, interests and knowle are in the micro perspective, and he has no comprehension of the mac situation, he would tend to have a low expectancy that his own behavior can determine macro outcomes.

Specialization and Meaninglessness

Galbraith has pointed out that specialization increases predictability from the point of view of the organization.

> The real accomplishment of modern science and technology
> consists in taking ordinary men, informing them narrowly
> and deeply and then, through appropriate organization,
> arranging to have their knowledge combined with that of other
> specialized but equally ordinary men. This dispenses with
> the need for genius. The resulting performance, though less

inspiring, is far more predictable (Galbraith, 1967, p. 62).

In Nosow and Form's (1962) work, an analysis of the modern work situation revealed a number of dynamic factors. The size of the work force was constantly growing. The composition of the team and the range of skills were becoming more diversified. Frequency of contact with associates was diminishing and the character of the contact was dynamic. It was found that all of these factors adversely affected worker satisfaction [pp. 82-87].

The trained incapacity discussed previously under Written Rules and Self-Estrangement may be an indirect product of specialization. This statement is based on the premise that specialization creates the need for some of the regulations that cause trained incapacity. Should the worker perceive trained incapacity it is possible that his expectancy, relative to predictions about future outcomes, would be reduced.

It is possible that in an environment where the employee plays a relatively small role, depending on the degree of specialization, he may develop a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made. Dubin (1958) found that specialization produced narrowness and from this narrowness there developed a fatalistic attitude about the future [p. 96].

Specialization and Normlessness

There would appear to be some further indirect connections between rules, specialization and normlessness. Nolan (1968) stated that one of the dysfunctions of specialization was that men were required to act by rules rather than a way in which they see as more

rational. Therefore, specialization makes men rule-bound rather than rational.

Tronc's (1969) study was cited as an indication of possible normlessness resulting from authority and written rules. Specialization was also an integral part of the initiating structure described by Tronc.

Dalton (1963) found that specialization produced power struggles in the organization. These struggles mainly stemmed from competition among departments. In order to argue that specialization did not produce normlessness it may have to be assumed that the behavior in these power struggles was socially approved.

Worthy (1963) noted that a large number of organizations with a logical division of labour and hierarchy of control, were badly disorganized from the standpoint of working relationships [p. 71]. This disorganization in working relationships may be close to anomie, the concept from which normlessness evolved.

Specialization and Isolation

How does bureaucratic specialization cause people to assign low reward values to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in a given society?

The observations of Nolan, based on a study by Goss , (1961) may be of particular interest in endeavouring to show teacher isolation as being the result of specialization. Goss saw the rising degree of militancy in teacher ranks as being the direct result of specialization. The more teachers become specialized the more they consider themselves professionals. As professionals they are

demanding greater autonomy and more control in line with other

professional groups. Professional control of the educational

institution and process, not only challenges the traditional control

of laymen, but is not in line with the beliefs that are highly

valued by the larger society. While the cause-effect relationship

would appear to be conceptually different here, teacher specialization

appears to produce isolation as defined by Seeman.

Specialization and Self-Estrangement

In his study of the "Elements of Satisfaction", Bakke (1950)

found the following to be the most important elements of job

satisfaction:

> Use of Abilities
> Respect for Job
> Job Instruction
> Fairness
> Steadiness
> Scope of Freedom
> Fatigue
> Teamwork [p. 40].

Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman (1959) noted that there

were two dimensions of job satisfaction. Satisfied workers stressed

achievement, recognition, the work itself, responsibility and

advancement. Dissatisfied workers complained about company policy,

administration, supervision, salary, impersonal relations, and

working condtions [p. 81].

According to Miller and Form (1964),

> All the motivating factors—recognition, achievement,
> advancement, responsibility, and work itself lead to
> positive job attitudes, because they fulfill esteem
> and self-actualization needs [p. 619].

The question is how much does specialization reduce the

possibility of the existence of motivating factors.

In a study of a strike in a shoe factory Werner and Low (1947) found that worker alienation was a major cause of the strike. They found alienation to be largely the product of an increased division of labour. Specialization had created close supervision, discouragement of creativity, and vertical, social, and spatial distance in the bureaucracy [pp. 208-215].

Worthy (1963) noted that specialization frequently destroys the meaning of the job. In many cases specialization has become over-functionalization [p. 270].

Argyris stated in 1957 that,

The basic impact of the formal organization structure is to make the employees feel dependent, submissive and passive, and to require them to utilize only a few of their less important abilities [p. 75].

In 1963, Worthy also noted that specialization or over-specialization was given impetus by the so called "scientific management movement". He claimed that in so doing, the scientific management movement demonstrated an extremely inadequate conception of human motivation and social organization [p. 271].

In preceding parts it has been indicated that specialization produces rules, and rules produce trained incapacity. Whyte (1961) has noted a dysfunction of specialization in the form of workers who cannot operate under conditions of "Trained Incapacity" [pp. 501-510].

Impersonality and Powerlessness

Bakke (1953, p. 17) indicated that prescribed power is illegitimate. The power and the leadership role must be granted from below. The question arises, can power or leadership be granted in the

impersonal milieu or a bureaucratic organization?

Blau (1962) pointed out that impersonality in an organization is dysfunctional in that it intensifies the social and other human needs of the individual.

Merton (1963) contributed to the theoretical discussion of the authority role of the bureaucrat in an organization. On this issue he said;

> The bureaucrat, in part irrespective of his position within the hierarchy, acts as a representative of the power and prestige of the entire structure. In his official role he is vested with definite authority. This often leads to an actual or apparent domineering attitude, which may only be exaggerated by a discrepancy between his position within the hierarchy and his position with reference to the public (Merton, 1963, p. 379).

Koffka (1935) gave support to Merton's position where the former wrote:

> If one compares the behavior of the bird at the top of the pecking list, the despot, with that of one very far down, the second or third from the last, then one finds the latter much more cruel to the few others over whom he lords it, than the former in his treatment of all members. As soon as one removes from the group all members above the penultimate, his behavior become milder and may even become friendly ... . It is not difficult to find analogies to this in human societies, and, therefore, one side of such behavior must be primarily the effects of the social groupings and not the individual characteristics [p. 379].

It would appear that the impersonal nature of the milieu in a bureaucracy provides an opportunity to exercise illegitimate power that would not otherwise be granted on Bakke's terms. This may result in a reduction in the individual's expectancy that his own behavior can determine outcomes.

Impersonality and Meaninglessness

     In the ideal organizational environment a fusion process takes place. At the same time as the organization performs a socializing process on the individual, a personalizing process is taking place through which the individual tries to impose his image on the organization (Drucker, 1964, p. 17).

     The adaptations of alienated employees, listed by Argyris (1959, p. 120) includes the formation of informal groups and the formalization of these informal groups. Trade Unions may be an example of one type of formalized group through which the employee seeks to increase his predictability of future outcomes of behavior, or protect him against the outcomes which he may fear.

     According to Merton (1963);

> Another feature of the bureaucratic structure, the stress on depersonalization of relationships, also plays its part in the bureaucrat's trained incapacity. The personality pattern of the bureaucrat is nucleated about this norm of impersonality. Both this and the categorizing tendency, which develops from the dominant role of the general abstract rules, tend to produce conflict in the bureaucrat's contacts with the public or clientele [p. 378].

     The above connection between impersonality and trained incapacity introduces questions relative to concepts previously introduced.

     Coch and French (1948) noted that one of the dysfunctions of bureaucratic impersonality was that it created resistance to the support of organizational goals [p. 515].

     Merton (1963) noted that impersonality was dysfunctional in that rigidity of behavior was created. This rigidity rendered the organization incapable of adapting to a changing environment. Predictability about future outcomes of behavior may not be high when

the behavior is rigid in a dynamic environment [p. 378].

Homans (1950) "Functional Theory" may be significant when impersonality and meaninglessness are being discussed.

(a) All of the elements of a society are related to one another, articulated with one another in such a way as;
(b) to meet the needs of individuals,
(c) in so doing, to contribute to the survival of society and its environment.
(d) b and c are dependent on each other [pp. 268-272].

In Homans contribution lies the concept that under conditions of impersonality the elements may not be related to or articulated with one another to meet the needs of individuals.

Impersonality and Normlessness

Nosow and Form (1962) saw bureaucratic impersonality as dysfunctional. Impersonality not only isolated but also insulated managerial personnel from the workers. This insulation of management was, at least in part, responsible for management's abdication of social responsibility [p. 82].

This concept would tend to indicate a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required. The alternative might be to argue that the abdication of social responsibility is a socially approved behavior.

The formation of informal groups as a reaction to impersonality, and the formalization of these groups, has been discussed. Trade Union tactics, on occasion, may tend to indicate a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals.

Impersonality and Isolation

Reference is made again to Tronc's (1969) study which tended to indicate that those on their way up the organizational ladder did assign a low reward value to goals or beliefs that were assumed to be held in society.

According to Argyris (1957) the organizational structure, which created apathy and non-involvement, would include impersonality [p. 932].

Impersonality and Self-Estrangement

Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman (1959) have indicated that satisfied workers stressed achievement, the work itself and responsibility, all contributors to the self-actualization process. Dissatisfied workers complained about impersonal relations [p. 81].

There appears to be a possibility that impersonality could block self-actualization and create self-estrangement.

There would appear to be some incongruity between the basic concepts of impersonality and self-actualization.

Other Research Findings

Moeller and Charters (1966) conducted empirical research on the "Relation of Bureaucratization to Sense of Power Among Teachers". This study is reported here in some detail because it appears to contradict portions of the macro model.

The primary hypothesis of the Moeller and Charters study was that teachers in highly bureaucratized school systems would have a much lower sense of power than teachers in less bureaucratic systems.

To test their hypothesis, 20 school systems employing from 37 to 700 full-time classroom teachers were selected.

Sense of power in their study was conceived as a continuum. At one end teachers who feel unlimited in the degree to which they can affect school system policy, and at the other end are those who feel powerless. A Likert-form questionnaire was used to measure the degree to which the teachers felt powerless. The following is a sample of the questions taken from that questionnaire:

> In the school system where I work, a teacher like myself:
> a. Believes he has some control over what textbooks will be used in the classrooms.
> b. Feels he does not know what is going on in the upper levels of administration.
> c. Never has a chance to work on important committees which make important decisions for the school system.
> d. Considers that he has little to say over what teachers will work with him on his job.
> e. Usually can find ways to get system-wide policies changed if he feels strongly enough about them.
> f. Feels he has little to say about important system-wide policies relating to teaching [pp. 449-450].

The systems involved were rated using an eight item forced choice instrument, based on Blau's characterization of bureaucracy. A group of persons with first hand knowledge of the school systems in the area made judgements which provided the data for ordering the twenty systems on a scale of bureaucratization.

The following are some of the results of the Moeller and Charters study:

> Control Variables.
> 1. A climate of repressive authority, measured by teacher's perception of the superintendent produced low sense of power scores.
> 2. Teachers in positions of responsibility showed higher sense of power scores.
> 3. Teachers reporting relations of friendship with school officials showed higher sense of power scores.
> 4. The highly bureaucratic systems had more teachers of longer service.

5. Male teachers felt a greater sense of power than
females and elementary teachers felt a greater sense of
power than secondary teachers. A strikingly high sense
of power was felt among the small group of male
elementary teachers [pp. 456-457].

Moeller and Charter's primary hypothesis was rejected. They
found that teachers in highly bureaucratic systems scored higher on
the sense of power questionnaire, than teachers in less bureacratic
systems, when the control variables were taken into consideration
[p. 457].

Schmidt (1968), on the other hand, found a negative relation-
ship between teacher satisfaction and the degree of hierarchical
authority [p. 41]. Schmidt recognized that this finding was opposed
to the findings of other studies, and suggested that the difference in
findings may be attributed to the fact that, while his study measured
bureaucracy by teacher perception, other studies had measured
bureaucracy as perceived by independent judges [p. 118]. The Moeller
and Charter's study measured bureaucracy as perceived by independent
judges.

CHAPTER 3

Review of Literature

The Micro Model

Seeman (1959) in the introduction to his study made reference
to the diversity of responses to alienation. Seeman quoted a study
(Merton, 1946) of the Kate Smith bond drive where he emphasized the
significance of pervasive distrust: "The very same society that
produces this sense of alienation and estrangement generates in many
a craving for reassurance, an acute need to believe, a flight into
faith [p. 790]."

Adaptations

While the conceptual scheme developed in Merton's study
"Social Structure and Anomie" (1938) was designed to provide a
coherent, systematic approach to the study of socio-cultural sources
of deviate behavior, it has provided the conceptual basis of the
micro model of adaptive behavior.

> Among the elements of social and cultural structure, two
> are important for our purposes. These are analytically
> separable although they merge imperceptibly in concrete
> situations. The first consists of culturally defined
> goals, purposes, and interests. It comprises a frame of
> aspirational reference. These goals are more or less
> integrated and involve varying degrees of prestige and
> sentiment. They constitute a basic, but not the exclusive,
> component of what Linton aptly has called "designs for
> group living". Some of these cultural aspirations are
> related to the original drives of man, but they are not
> determined by them. The second phase of the social
> structure defines, regulates, and controls the acceptable
> modes of achieving these goals. Every social group
> invariably couples its scale of desired ends with moral or
> institutional regulation of permissible and required

procedures for attaining these ends. These regulatory norms
and moral imperatives do not necessarily coincide with
technical or efficiency norms. Many procedures which from
the standpoint of particular individuals would be most
efficient in securing desired values, e.g., illicit oil-stock
schemes, theft, fraud, are ruled out of the institutional
area of permitted conduct. The choice of expedients is
limited by the institutional norms.

To say that these two elements, culture goals and institutional
norms, operate jointly is not to say that the ranges of
alternative behaviors and aims bear some constant relation to
one another. The emphasis upon certain goals may vary
independently of the degree of emphasis upon institutional
means. There may develop a disproportionate, at times, a
virtually exclusive, stress upon the value of specific goals,
involving relatively slight concern with the instituionally
appropriate modes of attaining these goals. The limiting case
in this direction is reached when the range of alternative
procedures is limited only by technical rather than
institutional considerations. Any and all devices which
promise attainment of the all important goal would be permitted
in this hypothetical polar case. This constitutes one type
of cultural malintegration. A second polar type is found in
groups where activities originally conceived as instrumental
are transmuted into ends in themselves. The original purposes
are forgotten and ritualistic adherence to institutionally
prescribed conduct becomes virtually obsessive. Stability is
largely ensured while change is flouted. The range of
alternative behaviors is severely limited. There develops a
tradition-bound, sacred society characterized by neophobia.
The occupational psychosis of the bureaucrat may be cited as
a case in point. Finally, there are the intermediate types
of groups where a balance between culture goals and institu-
tional means is maintained. These are the significantly
integrated and relatively stable, though changing, groups.

An effective equilibrium between the two phases of the social
structure is maintained as long as satisfactions accrue to
individuals who conform to both constraints, viz.,
satisfactions from the achievement of the goals and satisfac-
tions emerging directly from the institutionally canalized
modes of striving to attain these ends. Success, in such
equilibrated cases, is twofold. Success is reckoned in terms
of the product and in terms of the process, in terms of the
outcome and in terms of activities. Continuing satisfactions
must derive from sheer participation in a competitive order
as well as from eclipsing one's competitors if the order
itself is to be sustained. The occasional sacrifices involved
in institutionalized conduct must be compensated by socialized
rewards. The distribution of statuses and roles
through competition must be so organized that positive
incentives for conformity to roles and adherence to status
obligations are provided for every position within the

distributive order. Aberrant conduct, therefore, may be
viewed as a symptom of dissociation between culturally
defined aspirations and socially structured means
[pp. 672-674].

While Merton's study was primarily concerned with the

disproportionate accent on goals, he provided a conceptual basis for

understanding differential individual responses. It will be

remembered that Seeman (1959) found the roots of the normlessness

concept in Durkheim's term "anomie". In discussing behaviors

which produce anomie Merton (1938) wrote the following:

> As we shall see, certain aspects of the social structure
> may generate countermores and antisocial behavior precisely
> because of differential emphases on goals and regulations.
> In the extreme case, the latter may be so vitiated by the
> goal-emphasis that the range of behavior is limited only by
> considerations of technical expediency. The sole
> significant question then becomes, which available means
> is most efficient in netting the socially approved value?
> The technically most feasible procedure, whether legitimate
> or not, is preferred to the institutionally prescribed
> conduct. As this process continues, the integration of
> the society becomes tenuous and anomie ensues [p. 674].

Merton went on to suggest that there were five distinct

individual forms of adjustment or adaptation. He said:

> Turning from these types of culture patterning, we find
> five logically possible, alternative modes of adjustment
> or adaptation by individuals within the culture-bearing
> society or group. These are schematically presented in
> the following table, where (+) signifies "acceptance",
> (-) signifies "elimination" and (±) signifies
> "rejection and substitution of new goals and standards".

TABLE 1

	Culture Goals	Institutionalized Means
I. Conformity	+	+
II. Innovation	+	−
III. Ritualism	−	+
IV. Retreatism	−	−
V. Rebellion	±	±

[p. 676].

Merton provided the necessary license to amend this model when he wrote:

> Our discussion of the relation between these alternative
> responses and other phases of the social structure must be
> prefaced by the observation that persons may shift from one
> alternative to another as they engage in different social
> activities. These categories refer to role adjustments in
> specific situations, not to personality in toto.

The study went on to more closely examine some of the adaptations.

> In every society, Adaptation I (conformity to both culture
> goals and means) is the most common and widely diffused.
> Were this not so, the stability and continuity of the
> society could not be maintained. The mesh of expectancies
> which constitutes every social order is sustained by the
> model behavior of its members falling within the first
> category. Conventional role behavior oriented toward the
> basic values of the group is the rule rather than the
> exception. It is this fact alone which permits us to
> speak of a human aggregate as comprising a group or society.
>
> Conversely, Adaptation IV (rejection of goals and means) is
> the least common. Persons who "adjust" (or maladjust) in
> this fashion are, strictly speaking, in the society but not
> of it. Sociologically, these constitute the true "aliens".
> Not sharing the common frame of orientation, they can be
> included within the societal population merely in a fictional
> sense. In this category are some of the activities of
> psychotics, psychoneurotics, chronic autists, pariahs, out-
> casts, vagrants, vagabonds, tramps, chronic drunkards and
> drug addicts. These have relinquished, in certain spheres
> of activity, the culturally defined goals, involving complete
> aim-inhibition in the polar case, and their adjustments are
> not in accord with institutional norms. This is not to say
> that in some cases the source of their behavioral adjust-
> ments is not in part the very social structure which they
> have in effect repudiated nor that their very existence
> within a social area does not constitute a problem for the
> socialized population.
>
> This mode of "adjustment" occurs, as far as structural sources
> are concerned, when both the culture goals and institutional-
> ized procedures have been assimilated thoroughly by the
> individual and imbued with affect and high positive value,
> but where those institutionalized procedures which promise
> a measure of successful attainment of the goals are not
> available to the individual. In such instances, there
> results a twofold mental conflict insofar as the moral
> obligation for adopting institutional means conflicts with

the pressure to resort to illegitimate means (which may attain the goal) and inasmuch as the individual is shut off from means which are both legitimate and effective. The competitive order is maintained, but the frustrated and handicapped individual who cannot cope with this order drops out. Defeatism, quietism and resignation are manifested in escape mechanisms which ultimately lead the individual to "escape" from the requirements of the society. It is an expedient which arises from continued failure to attain the goal by legitimate measures and from an inability to adopt the illegitimate route because of internalized prohibitions and institutionalized compulsives, during which process the supreme value of the success-goal has as yet not been renounced. The conflict is resolved by eliminating both precipitating elements, the goals and means. The escape is complete, the conflict is eliminated and the individual is a socialized.

Be it noted that where frustration derives from the inaccessibility of effective institutional means for attaining economic or any other type of highly valued "success", that Adaptations II, III, and V (innovation, ritualism and rebellion) are also possible. The results will be determined by the particular personality, and thus, the particular cultural background, involved. Inadequate socialization will result in the innovation response whereby the conflict and frustration are eliminated by relinquishing the institutional means and retaining the success-aspiration; an extreme assimilation of institutional demands will lead to ritualism wherein the goal is dropped as beyond one's reach but conformity to the mores persists; and rebellion occurs when emancipation from the reigning standards, due to frustration or to marginalist perspectives, leads to the attempt to introduce a "new social order" [pp. 677-679].

Other Aspects of Adaptive Behavior

Robert A. Cloward (1959) is a renowned scholar who used and expanded the anomie concepts of Durkheim and Merton.

The theory of anomie has undergone two major phases of development, as exemplified by the work of Durkheim and Merton. In this paper a third phase is outlined. As currently stated, the theory focusses on pressures toward deviant behavior arising from discrepancies between cultural goals and approved modes of access to them. It focusses, in short, upon variations in the availability of legitimate means. One may also inquire, however, about variations in

access to success-goals by illegitimate means. The latter
emphasis may be detected in the work of Shaw, McKay,
Sutherland, and others in the "cultural transmission" and
"differential association" tradition. By taking into
account differentials in access to success-goals both by
legitimate and by illegitimate means, the theory of anomie
may be extended to include seemingly unrelated theories of
deviant behavior now contained in the traditional literature
of criminology [p. 164].

Anomie

To translate the work of Durkheim, Merton and Cloward into
the organizational setting it is necessary to examine the work of
other scholars. John K. Galbraith in the New Industrial State, (1967)
pointed out that notwithstanding the commonly held values and beliefs
in our society, our industrial system or technocracy did not respond
to consumer demand in accord with the classical theory of producing
the maximum amount of goods and services from the available resources
with the least opportunity cost. The business bureaucracy was primarly
concerned with its own expansion and self-preservation. The ultimate
consumer did not vote his approval or disapproval in the marketplace
but was educated to conform to the decisions of the technocracy.

While much of Galbraith's work remains the subject for
economic debate, two conflicting concepts emerge. The first concept
is that our society still holds economic efficiency, with a minimum of
waste, high in its value system. The second concept runs counter to
commonly held beliefs that the general public in our society is the
final evaluator of both public and private economic activity.
According to Galbraith the technocracy, and not the general lay public,
evaluates its own performance.

The atomistic market of the classical economists where, with
the shifting of demand and supply in accord with consumer preferences

and producers' self interests in profit maximization, each man worked
to create a benefit for the whole society which was no part of his
intent, appears to have been a theory applicable to the pre-
technological society. Galbraith's work indicates that the benefits
of the technocracy, with its numerous bureaucracies, do not
necessarily coincide with the benefits of society.

Turning to the educational bureaucracy it is apparent that
the professional is not evaluated by his clients, as is frequently
the case with the non-bureaucratic professional. The teacher tends
to be evaluated by other members of the bureaucracy (Peter, 1969,
p. 25). According to Peter the type of evaluation will depend more on
the level of competence of the evaluator, than on the level of perform-
ance of the evaluatee. "If the superior has reached his level of
incompetence, he will probably rate his subordinates in terms of
institutional values: he will see competence as behavior that supports
the rules, rituals and forms of the status quo" [p. 25].

Subject to personality variables, (page 4, limitation 5), the
bureaucracy is the means through which the educational system achieves
its ends, the formal education of the student. Should the means become
illegitimate, in terms of the values and mores of the larger social
structure, then organizational anomie, comparable to Durkheim's and
Merton's social anomie may result. A self-centred bureaucracy not
producing the maximum ability of each member for the better education of
the student may be considered illegitimate within the values of the
total society.

Consequences of Anomie

Durkheim (1951) showed a high positive correlation between

the level of anomie and the suicide rate in various countries. A
survey of medical doctors conducted by Peter (1969) found the following
to be the possible result of organizational or bureaucratic life:

> Peptic ulcers,
> Spastic colitis,
> Mucous colitis,
> High blood pressure,
> Constipation,
> Diarrhea
> Frequent urination,
> Alcoholism,
> Overeating and obesity,
> Loss of appetite,
> Allergies,
> Hypertension,
> Muscle spasms,
> Insomnia,
> Chronic fatigue,
> Skipped heartbeats,
> Other cardiovascular complaints,
> Migraine headaches,
> Nausea and vomiting,
> Tender painful abdomen,
> Dizziness,
> Dysmenorrhea,
> Tinnitus (ringing in the ears),
> Excessive sweating of hands, feet, armpits, or other areas,
> Nervous dermatitis,
> Sexual impotence [p. 96].

The connection between organizational and/or organizational-
social anomie, while it would appear to be supported in theory, appears
to remain a hypothesis which requires additional research.

Adaptive Behaviors

Adaptive behaviors, which may or may not result in or be
caused by a state of anomie, and which have been dealt with in the
review of the literature of the macro model include:

1. Tension and hostility engendered by boring and
    unsatisfactory work produces what appears to be laziness
    (Fromm, 1957, p. 92; Argyris, 1959, p. 120).

2. Apathy and non-involvement caused by organizational structure and work flow (Argyris, 1957, p. 93; Blau, 1962, p. 69).

3. Negative involvement caused by coercive power such as Blau's strategic leniency (Etzioni, 1961, p. 135).

4. Behavior that is not a product of the self (Argyris, 1957, p. 170).

5. Antagonism caused by authoritarian leadership producing feeling of inequality and inferiority (Blau and Scott, 1962, p. 62).

6. Absenteeism and other escape mechanisms (Morrow, 1968, p. 4; Argyris, 1959, p. 120).

7. Sanctification of the means, where the individual loses sight of the ends and protects his security by making the bureaucracy and its rules the ends (Merton, 1963, p. 378; Tronc, 1969).

8. Instrumental manipulative attitudes and techniques (Seeman, 1959, p. 787). These include:

   a. Elaborate insurance policies such as controlled production, and just-in-case-the-president-asks-files (Argyris, 1968, p. 3).

   b. Censorship, the filtering in the upward flow of communication so as to permit only favourable reporting (Noland, 1968; also Argyris, 1968).

   c. Throwing the dead cat over the other fellow's fence (Argyris, 1969).

   d. Strategic leniency (Blau, 1963, p. 397).

9. Mysticism, a retreat to faith in fortune, chance and luck (Merton, 1959, p. 787; Dubin, 1958, p. 96).

10. Climbing the organizational ladder (Argyris, 1959, p. 120; Tronc, 1969).

11. Passiveness; using only a few of less important abilities (Argyris, 1957, p. 75).

12. Materialism: a consumption greed to satisfy the vacuum left by the non-fulfillment of the self-actualization drive (Fromm, 1955, p. 295).

13. Projection, indulge in activities that projects all blame to others and the impersonal structure (Argyris, 1959, p. 119).

14. Militant action, the formation of trade unions to protect against the bureaucracy (Argyris, 1959, p. 120).

15. Goal displacement, the instrument becomes a type of religion and an end in itself (Merton, 1963, p. 376; Tronc, 1969).

16. Mistrust, win-lose competition and lack of integrity are accepted as unchangeable parts of human nature (Argyris, 1968, p. 3).

17. Dogmatic domination, where the individual compensates for his powerlessness by the excessive exercise of power over those under him (Koffka, 1935, p. 379).

18. Neophobia, created by a rigidity of behavior which protects the security of the individual (Merton, 1963, p. 378).

Other adaptive behaviors listed by Argyris (1959), and not included in the discussion of the macro model literature, are:

1. The creation of informal groups to sanction:

    a. The defensive reactions of daydreaming, aggression, grievances, regression, projection, and feelings of a low sense of self-worth.

    b. The apathy, disinterest, and non-ego involvement in the organization and its formal goals.

2. The acceptance of one or more of the adaptive behaviors as proper for life outside the organization [p. 120].

CHAPTER 4

Summary, Model Construction and Synthesis

Summary of Previous Research Using Components of

the Macro and Micro Models

Any approach to model construction must be imposed upon what was previously attempted by other researchers, and by examining the findings revealed by these researchers, which may, or may not, contradict the theoretical bases of the model to be constructed.

Moeller and Charter's (1966) study can be criticized because they attempted to diagnose the disease without making any reference whatever to the symptoms. They did not attempt to identify any form of adaptive behavior of their subjects, at any point in their study. For instance these researchers did not attempt to measure cognitive dissonance, which infers that adaptive behaviors should be measured. In the case of a teacher, it is unlikely that his ego, and his perceived place in the social structure, would allow him to remain in a state where he perceived himself to be powerless, or his work meaningless. Such a condition would tend to produce dissonance which, according to the psychological dissonance theory, would have to be relieved with some form of rationalization.

The second criticism of the Moeller and Charters investigation is in the instrument which they used. The questions used in that instrument did not yield data which measured powerlessness, as defined by Seeman, but were questions which yielded data measuring sense of power. Moeller and Charters (1966) quoted Seeman's definition of

powerlessness as a person's "expectancy ... that his own behavior
cannot determine the occurence of the outcomes or reinforcements
he seeks [p. 445]", and measured the occurence of the outcomes and
reinforcements of the persons who designed the research instrument.
This is illustrated by the fact that at no point in their report
did Moeller and Charters indicate that the teachers, in their sample,
wanted to work on important committees or want to know what was going
on at the upper levels of administration. These researchers make no
statements in their research report which indicate what outcomes or
reinforcements were sought by those who comprised the sample of
investigation.

Schmidt (1968), when comparing the findings of his own study
to those of McKay (1964), established the basis for an additional
criticism of the Moeller and Charter's study. The Moeller and Charter's
study measured bureaucracy as perceived by independent judges, and not
as it was perceived by the respondents. This violates the central
concept of Seeman's definition, which is; the expectancy of the
individual should be measured and not the perception of a second or
third party.

The findings of the library research tend to indicate that
the many adaptive behaviors of individuals do not, on the surface at
least, appear to be alienated behavior. An individual in the process
of climbing the organizational ladder may appear to be simply in the
process of vertical mobility, and there is nothing alienative about
attempting to achieve the cultural goal of success through accepted
institutionalized means. Closer inspection of the individual, in the
educational bureaucracy for example, may reveal that this individual

has displaced the cultural goal—the education of the student;
sanctified the means as represented by the bureaucracy, and is, there-
fore, displaying ritualistic adaptive behavior in response to some
alienating experience. Tronc's (1969) study gives support to the
validity of this criticism. In his study, Tronc used educators from
71 schools to determine their promotional aspirations and related this
to their responses on a consideration questionnaire. The majority of
those with promotional aspirations had sanctified the means of the
educational bureaucracy and displaced the goal of the student's
welfare, and displaced it with a goal of personal promotional
aspirations, thereby adapting to the bureaucracy in ritualistic
fashion.

The Macro Model

From the library research it was found that Weberian
bureaucracy may be dysfunctional. The scholarly works of Weber state
that authority, written rules, specialization and impersonality are
necessary components of an ideal bureaucracy.

Seeman's model shows the components of alienation to be;
powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-
estrangement.

The examination of the work of other scholars of organizational
theory indicates that the components of bureaucracy can be dysfunctional,
and that these dysfunctions can result in alienation. To illustrate
how one or all of the components of dysfunctional bureaucracy can
affect one or all of the components of alienation, Figure 1 was
adopted.

FIG. I – MACRO-MODEL

Discussion of the Macro Model

A close review of Figure 1 indicates that dysfunctional authority may cause powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and, or, self-estrangement. An example of this may be bureaucratic leaders of low potential being rigid and directive with subordinates, utilizing coercive power, and exercising authoritarian leadership, resulting in the powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement of the subordinate or subordinates.

Written rules may be dysfunctional through manifest and latent functions. Some of these latent functions may include; the accepted breaking of contradictory or obsolete rules, or making the rules terminal values in themselves.

Any or all of these dysfunctions of rules could produce any or all of the components of alienation.

Powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement could also be dysfunctions of specialization. In a work force growing in size and complexity, the narrowing of individual interests and the loss of the individual's social significance, could produce in the individual; an expectancy that his own behavior cannot determine the outcomes he seeks, a low expectancy that he can make satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior, a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals, to assign low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society, and to govern his behavior according to anticipated future rewards.

Dysfunctional impersonality that facilitates the exercise

of illegitimate power, in an environment of intensification of individual social and human needs, could be manifested in powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement.

Seeman in his research of the components of alienation has shown the inter-relatedness between and among these various components. This inter-relatedness is represented in Figure 1 by double headed arrows.

The double-headed arrows between authority—written rules; written rules—specialization; and specialization—impersonality; indicate that these causes of bureaucratic dysfunctionality are inter-related and receive support and substantiation from each other. None of these causes of bureaucratic dysfunctionality exist in a vacuum. Authority may be dysfunctional in the exercise of dysfunctional rules. Specialization may be more dysfunctional through dysfunctional impersonality.

There would appear to be little point in attempting to measure powerlessness without reference to all components of bureaucratic dysfunctionality. A measure of powerlessness, in terms of the dysfunctions of authority, without reference to the dysfunctions of; written rules, specialization, and impersonality, would have little relevance or meaning.

A measure of powerlessness may also have little significance. If an individual is alienated as defined by meaninglessness or normlessness, it may matter little that he has not experienced powerlessness. The mere fact that a person is not isolated or self-estranged does not necessarily indicate that he is not alienated.

A synthesis of the components of the macro model just

discussed indicates that, not only are these components of the model inter-related, they are also cross-sectional.

The Micro Model--Adaptations and Adaptive Behaviors

Adaptations

When Merton (1938) developed his model of adaptations he listed the following; conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion.

Conformity

According to Merton, the first adaptation is that of the conformist. Merton describes this adaptation as representing an individual who has found a balance and conforms to both the means and the ends. This concept can be applied to an educational bureaucratic environment, where the teacher conforms to both the organization (the means) and the education of the student (the ends). However, because this teacher, who subscribes to both the means and the ends of education, is not considered by Merton to be alienated, the conformity adaptation has been excluded in the conceptual model of alienation.

Innovation

Merton describes this second adaptation as an individual who conforms to the ends and has rejected the means. Translated into the educational milieu, the innovative teacher would be interested in the education and welfare of the student and work diligently toward that end, but would have no loyalty to the bureaucracy.

Ritualism

The third adaptation that an individual may make to a social situation is that of the ritualist who, according to Merton, conforms to the means but has rejected the ends. This adaptation synthesizes the concepts involving the sactification of the means and the displacement of the goal or goals of the organization. To the ritualistic educator the bureaucracy has become the ends of education, and the education of the student is simply that which makes the ends possible.

Retreatist

The fourth adaptation, the retreatist, is described by Merton as an individual who has rejected both the means and the ends. The teacher retreatist has rejected both the bureaucracy and the education of the student.

Rebellion

This adaptation is described by Merton as being distinct from the other four adaptations in that it contains both positive and negative factors. In the educational environment the teacher rebel has rejected the bureaucracy but, unlike the innovator and the retreatist, he is working to substitute some other form of organization. Unlike the ritualist and the retreatist, who have also rejected the ends, he is trying to substitute some other values and change the ends, in this case the education of the student.

Translation of Adaptations

The first step in the development of adaptations for the
micro model is to translate Merton's adaptations into the educational
setting. The adaptation of conformity has been eliminated for the
reasons previously discussed. The other four adaptations have been
interpreted in terms of teacher adaptations to alienation and are
presented schematically in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Translation of Merton's Adaptations into the Educational Setting

	The Education Bureaucracy (Institutional Means)	Students' Education and Well-Being (Ends)
Innovation *	−	+
Ritualism *	+	−
Retreatism *	−	−
Rebellion	±	±

* The plus and minus factors are considered as opposite extremes on a continuum.
± Indicates rejection and substitution.

Combinations of Adaptations

Although Merton recognized that combinations of adaptations
were possible he considered them to be outside the scope of his
study. However, to make the micro model of teacher alienation complete,
it is necessary to consider three additional possible combinations of
adaptations. The three possible additional combinations are;
rebellion-innovation, ritualism-rebellion, and rebellion-retreatism.

Rebellion-Innovation

It would represent the teacher who subscribes to the ends of education but, while he does not subscribe to the means, is working to change them. It would not appear inconceivable that a teacher who was dedicated to the ends of education would want to change the means if he perceived the means to be a dysfunctional bureaucracy. A strong dedication to the ends may be the motivation to change the means, if the means were in any way blocking the achievement of the ends.

Ritualism-Rebellion

It would represent the teacher who would support the bureaucracy and would be working to change the education. He would support the means while trying to change the ends. This category appears to be in conceptual proximity to the first adaptive behavior, discussed by Merton, that of conformist. However, it differs in that an individual can work for a change in the ends within the existing means. This would appear to be possible only in a bureaucracy that was not dysfunctional and, or, not suffering from neophobia—fear of the new. It is possible that a teacher who falls within this adaptation, can only seek a change in the ends and subscribe to the means, in a situation where the goal of changed ends was a value which the individual and the bureaucracy held in common, or at close levels in their value structures. In such a case it is not likely that the individual would be alienated. For this reason the category of ritualism-rebellion is omitted from the research and Table 3. (Adaptations to Alienation)

Rebellion-Retreatism

Its adaptation would involve a teacher who was not interested in the ends but who was attempting to change the means. While this adaptation may exist under some conditions, it is not likely that a person who does not care where he is going would be too interested in changing the means of getting there. On this basis this adaptation is not included in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Adaptations to Alienation

	The Education Bureaucracy (Institutional Means)	Students Education and Well-Being (Ends)
Innovation *	−	+
Ritualism *	+	−
Retreatism *	−	−
Rebellion	±	±
Rebellion-Innovation	±	+

* The plus-minus factors represent opposite extremes on a continuum.
± Indicates rejection and substitution.

Adaptive Behaviors

Adaptive behaviors of alienated individuals were identified in the library research of the components for the macro and micro models. Table 4 lists the key terms that can be used to describe the behaviors alienated teachers may use to adapt to the dysfunctional consequences of a bureaucratic organization.

TABLE 4

Adaptive Behaviors

1. Apparent Laziness.	12. Passiveness.
2. Apathy and Non-Involvement.	13. Materialism.
3. Negative Involvement.	14. Projection.
4. Non-Self Product.	15. Militant Action.
5. Antagonism.	16. Goal Displacement.
6. Absenteeism.	17. Mistrust.
7. Other Escape Mechanisms.	18. Dogmatic Domination.
8. Sanctification of the Means.	19. Neophobia
9. Instrumental Manipulation.	20. Informal Group.
10. Mysticism.	21. Macro Acceptance. *
11. Climbing the Organizational Ladder	

* The acceptance of behavior as proper for life outside the organization.

Macro-Micro Model

Other Variables

Other sociological and social-psychological variables must be given consideration in developing a conceptual model of bureaucratic dysfunctionality, teacher alienation, adaptations and adaptive behaviors, if the model is to be comprehensive. These are the variables which should be considered;

1. Cultural Transmission

2. Differential Association.

The theories of cultural transmission and differential association have enjoyed growing acceptance in the sociological study of deviant behavior (Cloward, 1959, pp. 164-176).

While a close examination of these theories is beyond the scope of this study, it would appear necessary to deal briefly with these concepts if the model is to approach completion.

A review of scholarly works in social-psychology and sociology has revealed that sex and socio-economic status may be important variables in the investigation of alienation. This introduces the possibility that the form of individual adaptation to alienation may be a function of two variables—cultural transmission and differential association.

Cultural Transmission

The class level of the individual's early environment, his conservative or liberal educational background, his early religious training and his religious beliefs, his highly technical training as opposed to an advanced education in the humanities, and other variables in cultural transmission, could be important determinants of the bureaucratic, as well as the social, adaptations of the individual. For example, the daughter of an authoritarian clergyman father may be less likely to rebel against institutional means, than the son of a middle class trade union leader. A person with a puritan work-ethic background may be less likely to display the adaptive behavior of laziness than the person from a middle class agnostic home.

Differential Association

The differential association theory relates to, but is distinct from the cultural transmission theory. While membership in informal groups (differential association) may, to some extent

at least, be determined by cultural transmission, the individual may not always choose the informal group in the work situation. The degree to which the individual is influenced by differential association, such as informal groups, may also be a function of cultural transmission.

The person who, as a result of group membership or family, has the opportunity to climb the organizational ladder, may be more likely to adapt in ritualistic fashion, than the person who cannot gain access to the right clubs, organizations or groups.

The member of an informal group, whose implicit purpose is to sanction alienative adaptive behaviors, may be more likely to display militant behavior than the junior executive of a country club.

While the theory of cultural transmission and the theory of differential association appear to be related, they may have to be conceptually discrete for the purpose of research.

Anomie

The theory of anomie formerly focused on the pressures toward deviant behavior arising from the discrepancy between the cultural goals and approved modes of access to these goals. Cloward (1959) inquired about variations in access to success goals by illegitimate means. Through family background, and other variables of cultural transmission; informal group membership and other variables of differential association, a person will have variations in opportunities to success goals by illegitimate means. With the variables in cultural transmission and differential association a person will also have variations in opportunities to success goals by

legitimate means.

Seeman (1959) referred to anomie in his model of alienation. Anomie was the central concept in the model of adaptations used by Merton (1938) in his study of "Social Structure and Anomie". Cloward (1959) dealt with anomie in his paper "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior". Durkheim (1951) demonstrated that anomie was a major cause of suicide, when the egoistic and altruistic forms of suicide were also considered.

Writings of scholars of sociology reveal common agreement that any incongruity between the means and ends will produce anomie. An examination of the variation in means-ends relationships in the table of alienation adaptations (Table 3) will reveal an almost total incongruity in the relationships of the means to the ends.

A brief description of the educational ritualist in the process of climbing the organizational ladder will serve the purpose of illustrating the concept of anomie. The ritualist has displaced the goals of education and sanctified the means of the bureaucracy. In the larger social perspective he is striving for the culturally acceptable goal of success through legitimate institutionalized means. The displacement of the educational goal for selfish reasons would not tend to be a culturally acceptable means. The instrumental manipulation in which he may have to indulge, to protect his position in a dysfunctional bureaucracy, may not be considered a legitimate institutionalized mean. This incongruency tends to place him in the position where he may be continually trying to legitimize his illegitimate activities.

The macro and the micro models, the variables of cultural

FIG. 2 COMPREHENSIVE CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF THE DYSFUNCTIONS OF BUREACRACY, TEACHER ALIEN-ATION, ADAPTATIONS AND ANOMIE

ARMSTRONG'S ANOMIE CUBE

ANOMIE
MANIFESTED IN

MACRO

Breakdown in Ethics Norms and Sanctions Producing:- Cultural Breakdown and Social Disorder.

MICRO

Blocking of Self-actualizing process. Producing:- Suicide, menticide, nervous disorders and diseases.

DYSFUNCTIONAL

AUTHORITY
WRITTEN RULES
SPECIALIZATION
IMPERSONALITY

DYSFUNCTIONS

ALIENATION

POWERLESSNESS
MEANINGLESSNESS
NORMLESSNESS
ISOLATION
SELF-ESTRANGEMENT

ADAPTATIONS

INNOVATION
RITUALISM
RETREATISM
REBELLION-INNOVATION-
REBELLION

DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION
CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

BEHAVIOR

DYSFUNCTIONAL

Apparent Laziness
Apathy and Non-involvement
Negative Involvement
Non-self Product
Antagonism
Absenteeism
Other Escape Mechanisms
Sanctification of the Means
Instrumental Manipulation
Climbing the Organization Ladder
Mysticism
Passiveness
Materialism
Projection
Militant Action
Goal Displacement
Dogmatic Domination
Macro Acceptance
Informal Group
Neophobia
Mistrust

transmission and differential association, and the theory of anomie,

were synthesized to produce the conceptual model of the dysfunctions

of bureaucracy, teacher alienation and anomie, represented in Figure 2.

Discussion of the Macro-Micro Model—Armstrong's Anomie Cube

The model may be perceived as a cube with the sides unfolded.

The first side of the cube is dysfunctional bureaucratic organization.

The label dysfunctional is applicable to all its components of

dysfunctional authority, written rules, specialization and impersonality,

which individually, or together, produce dysfunctions that produce

alienation.

The second side of the unfolded cube is labelled alienation

with the sub-parts of powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness,

isolation and self-estrangement, which are caused by the dysfunctions

of a bureaucratic organization.

The third side of the cube includes the adaptations of

individuals who are alienated in a bureaucratic organization. The

level and type of alienative adaptation may vary according to the

effect of differential association and cultural transmission on the

individual.

Alienated behaviors result from the adaptations of alienated

individuals. These alienated and alienative behaviors are

represented on the fourth side of the model, which is labelled

behavior.

The alienative behaviors on the final side are dysfunctional

in themselves. An example of this will also serve to show the cube as

a cohesive unit. A social conformist, conforming to the success goal

and the institutionalized means, becomes a teacher and enters the bureaucracy. He experiences authoritarian power from a rigid principal of low potential, he experiences anomie in the manifest and latent function of the written rules in the form of; legislation, departmental regulations, school board policy and budget, and school regulations. His university education has given him an area of specialization and he experiences trained incapacity in teaching a subject or grade for which he was not prepared. He experiences anomie in the incongruity between the stated objectives of education and his presence in an area not requiring his specialization. The impersonality of government, board and administrative hierarchy, together with all his other experiences in the bureaucracy render him powerlessness, and his life's work meaningless.

In an attempt to escape from the unrewarding work situation he decides to teach basketball. He is successful in his endeavours and the principal is proud of the basketball team. Differential association has given him the opportunity. He is from a middle class home and the success goal is high in his value system. There are external social pressures on him to succeed. The opportunity provided by differential association and the pressures of cultural transmission dictate that he adapt to the situation. By taking the line of least psychological resistence, (or as Merton (1938) stated: "The sole significant question then becomes, which available means is most efficient in netting the socially approved value? The technically most feasible procedure, whether legitimate or not is preferred to the institutionally prescribed conduct ... anomie ensues"[p. 674]). He adapts in ritualistic fashion, sanctifies the

means and displaces the goals. His materialistic values make him a slave of the means, his self-actualization is blocked and his behavior is not a product of the self. He uses the anomie-producing dysfunctional techniques of instrumental manipulation to climb the organizational ladder, thereby making bureaucratic authority, written rules, specialization and impersonality dysfunctional.

The alienative behavior of the teacher in the above illustration tends to be dysfunctional and has joined the dysfunctional bureaucratic model on the first side of the cube.

The anomie in the above example is represented in the top fold of the cube, which is divided into a macro and a micro side. On the macro side anomie may be manifested in a breakdown in ethics, social norms or sanctions. Anomie, on the macro side, may produce cultural breakdown or social disorder.

On the micro side the anomie may be manifested in a blocking of the self-actualizing process and produce; suicide, menticide, or nervous disorders.

Support for the above manifestations of anomie may be found in the following quotation:

> In every society conformity to both culture goals and means is the most common and widely diffused. Were this not so the stability and continuity of the society could not be maintained (Merton, 1938, p. 677).

The completion of a prior quotation from Merton (1938) may be more directly applicable to anomie as it is used in the model.

> The technically most feasible procedure, whether legitimate or not, is preferred to the institutionally prescribed conduct. As this process continues, the integration of the society becomes tenuous and anomie ensues [p. 674].

CHAPTER 5

Recommendations for Use of the Model in Research

Comprehensive Approach

From the library research for this study, it was found that a fragmentary approach was used in conducting much of the existing research, and that a new and different approach to the investigation of alienation is needed. This should not be interpreted as a criticism of the contributions made by previous researchers who investigated the problem of alienation. The comprehensive approach, which the model of alienation indicates as being necessary, and which the research of the sociological problem demands, can only be feasible through an operations research approach with the use of the computer.

Dysfunctionality as Variable

There would appear to be little value in measuring the degree of bureaucratization as a variable in the investigation of teacher alienation. As previously discussed in Chapter 4 a more meaningful variable, to be measured, would be the degree of dysfunctionality of the bureaucratic organization under study. The degree of dysfunctionality may be measured by trained researchers using specially designed research instruments measuring, for example, the degree to which the employee has sanctified the rules thereby making the rules dysfunctional, or the degree to which the employee perceives dysfunctions and how this perception correlates with the perceptions of the employee held by others. The individual may not perceive the rules as being dysfunctional, but his behavior,

as described by others, may indicate that others perceive him as having sanctified the means.

Measuring Alienation

There is agreement among authorities in social psychology and sociology, that there is little practical value in a researcher asking or infering questions of a participant that relate directly to alienation. These authorities feel that such questions may be more a measure of, the individuals ego, his personal sense of worth, the extent to which rationalization has relieved cognitive dissonance, differential association and cultural transmission variables, than a measure of powerlessness or meaninglessness.

To measure powerlessness it may be necessary to first determine what outcomes or reinforcements the individual seeks, and secondly to measure the degree to which the individual expects his behavior to determine those outcomes or reinforcements. There are inherent problems in using this approach. To measure powerlessness other variables might also have to be taken into consideration. For instance, in determining the outcomes or reinforcements the individual seeks, one may well be determining the extent to which alienation has taken place. To find that the individual has a high expectancy that his behavior can determine the occurrence of the outcomes or reinforcements, which he has stated that he seeks, may indicate a very low level of powerlessness. On the other hand it could also indicate that this individual is alienated and has a low level of sought outcomes or reinforcements. In order to determine whether this person has a low level of powerlessness or an adaptation to

alienation, it might be necessary to attempt to measure certain aspects of his behavior, using an instrument to determine his behavior as perceived by others.

The problems discussed, necessary to the measurement of alienation, are intended to serve as an example of the type of approach that may be required. The manner in which the problems are inter-related should serve to support the concept of a total and comprehensive approach to the investigation of alienation.

Measuring Adaptations

Tronc's (1969) study may provide some guidance in the measurement of the congruity of the means and ends.

The work of Merton, and other scholars of anomie, indicates that a high positive correlation may be found between the level of incongruity of means-ends and the level of anomie. There would also appear to be a positive relationship between this level of incongruity and alienation. The level of means-ends incongruity may be a key variable in the investigation of alienation and, or, anomie.

Adaptive Behaviors

Several approaches might be used in measuring alienative behaviors. Trained reseachers could observe staffroom conversations. Research instruments could be used to measure the amount of distrust which people in the organization hold toward each other. The degree to which socially illegitimate behavior is considered acceptable in organizational life may also be a key variable capable of measurement.

Anomie

   The level of anomie might also be determined by the level of incongruity between the individual's adaptation to bureaucratic life and his adaptation in the larger society. As discussed in Chapter 4, an individual could be a social conformist and a bureaucratic ritualist. The additional incongruity resulting from the combination of these adaptations could be another variable in the determination of anomie. Tables which suggest this incongruity are incorporated in Appendices A and B.

   Other approaches to the research of anomie might include;

(1) The research of medical histories to discover the incidence of nervous disorders.

(2) The incidence of the use of the various escape mechanisms.

(3) In an investigation in an educational environment, such as a high school, the techniques used in the investigation of juvenile delinquency might be used to discover the extent to which anomie has spilled over into this part of the bureaucracy.

   The comprehensive, cohesive nature of the model, and the many inter- and intra-related variables, which are incorporated in the model, indicate that the magnitude of the task involved in using this model for research requires a team of trained specialists using operations research. This team would consist of a psychologist, a sociologist, a statistician and a professional educator.

Recommendations

It is recommended that the Alberta Human Resource Council fund a research project that would use this model in different educational environments. Should this research reveal the presence of dysfunctional bureaucracy, alienation, adaptations and anomie, there may be some indication that investment in education was yielding negative returns in these environments. The potential savings in opportunity and social costs would appear to justify the investment in research.

An important part of the above research would be to investigate the extent to which the adaptation of ritualism is represented on the administrative educational ladder. Tronc's study indicates that this adaptation is well represented in the population which comprised his study. It is recommended that the Department of Educational Administration, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, use Tronc's study and this model as a basis for research in the area of ritualistic adaptation in the educational administrative hierarchy.

Other research may investigate the extent to which the various components of the model produce anomie.

It is recommended that future studies in the Department of Industrial and Vocational Education research the behavioral and the attitudinal changes, which appear to take place in teachers of vocational education, to determine the extent to which the model describes these changes in behavior and attitude.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Anomie--denotes a social condition in which the norms that serve to
        regulate conduct have broken down. The breakdown of norms
        could be due to a removal or weakening of sanctions.

Coercive Power--(Etzioni, 1961, p. 135) the use of illegitimate
        techniques and pressures to force the behavior of others
        to conform to the desires of the user of coercive power.

Cultural Transmission--(Cloward, 1959, p. 165) emphasized in the
        sociological works of Shaw, McKay, Sutherland and others,
        in the investigation of deviant behavior, is the process
        by which cultural values and beliefs are transmitted.

Differential Association--has the same scholastic sources as the
        cultural transmission theory. A person's membership in
        formal and informal groups will provide him with opportunities
        to legitimate and illegitimate means to achieve certain
        goals. The extent of the influence of this association
        will be governed by the individual's level of inhibitions
        produced through cultural transmission.

Eufunctional--the opposite of dysfunctional, an organizational
        phenomenon is eufunctional when it contributes to and
        enhances the functioning of the organization.

Informal Group--may be eufunctional under certain conditions. In this
        study the term means the dysfunctional behavior of
        forming groups to sanction and support other adaptive
        dysfunctional behaviors (Argyris, 1959, p. 120).

Instrumental Manipulation--(Seeman, 1959, p. 787) includes some of the

concepts of Argyris and Blau, controlled production, just-
in-case-the-president-asks-files, just-in-case-the-
superintendent-comes-lesson-plans, censoring upward flow
of communication to allow only favourable reporting,
throwing the dead cat over the other fellow's fence, and
strategic leniency, or any other techniques whereby the
individual makes an instrument of other people to accomplish
his own ends.

Macro Acceptance--(Argyris, 1959, p. 120) the extent to which one or
more of the adaptive behaviors is accepted as proper for
life outside the bureaucracy.

Manifest and Latent Functions--(Merton, 1957, p. 63) the manifest
function of a rule is the purpose for which it was intended.
The latent function is the unintended consequences.

Materialism--(Argyris, 1969, p. 3) this term is used to operationalize
Argyris's concept that when work becomes unrewarding the
individual has to rationalize that there must be some rewards
and seeks the material rewards from work. This includes the
concept that the employer who treats his employees with
the philosophy that they are only interested in the clock
and the paycheque, will create this type of employee by
virtue of his behavior. The employer's behavior creates a
self-fulfilling prophesy.

Mysticism--a term used in this study to operationalize the concepts of
Seeman, Argyris and Merton. The blocking of goals or an
individual's self-actualization may result in a flight to a
belief to chance, good-luck and fortune.

Need-Deficiency--(O'Reilly, 1967) the difference between the teachers
need for autonomy and the fulfillment of that autonomy.

Neophobia--fear of the new. In this study the term refers to part of
the occupational psychosis of the bureaucrat and the
tradition-bound sacred society of the ritualist (Merton,
1938, pp. 673-674).

Non-self Product--a term to operationalize the concept of Argyris
(1957, p. 170). Behavior that is not a product of the self.

Sanctification of the Means--(Merton, 1953, p. 120) the process by
which the means are sanctified and become ends in them-
selves. The rule becomes an end, or the bureaucracy
becomes the end and not the purpose for which the rule
or the bureaucracy were established to serve.

Strategic Leniency--(Blau, 1963) the process by which the superordinate
overlooks minor unimportant rule infractions in order to
gain the support and loyalty of subordinates.

Trained Incapacity--(Merton, 1963, p. 377) the effective bureaucracy
demands reliability of response and strict devotion to
authority and regulations, this interferes with ready
adaptation of individuals to specific conditions. The
individual is trained to obey and this he does whether it
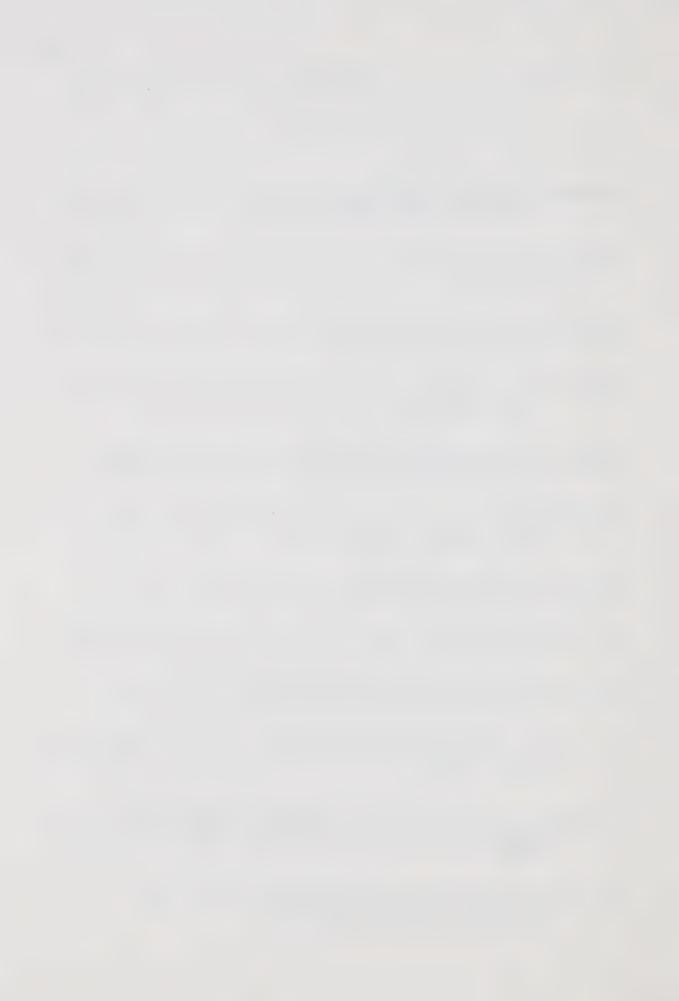is efficient or not.

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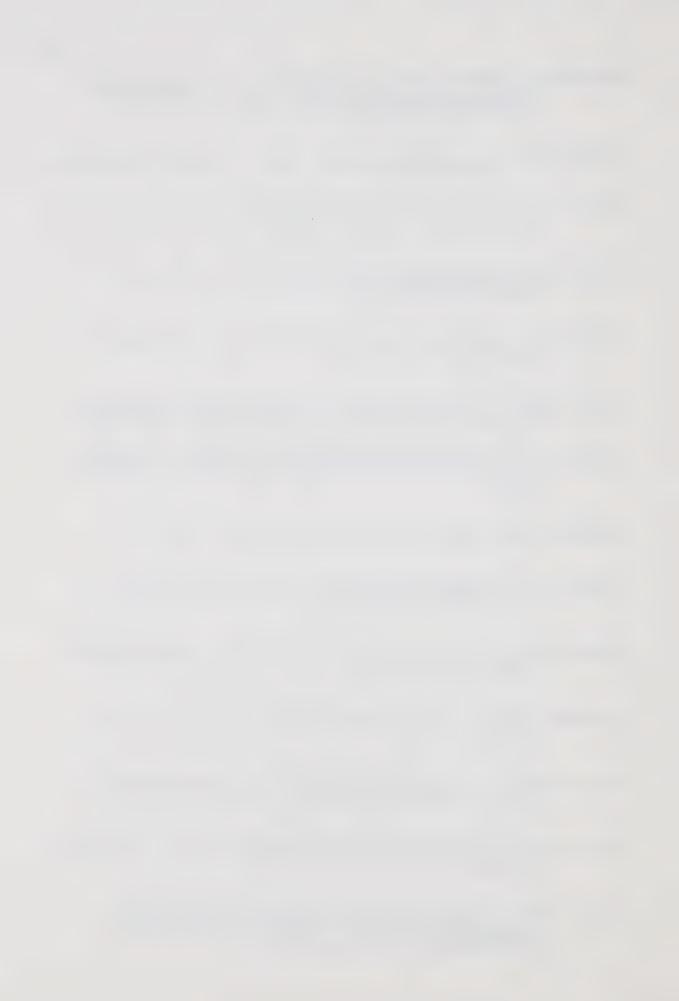   University of Chicago Press, 1963.

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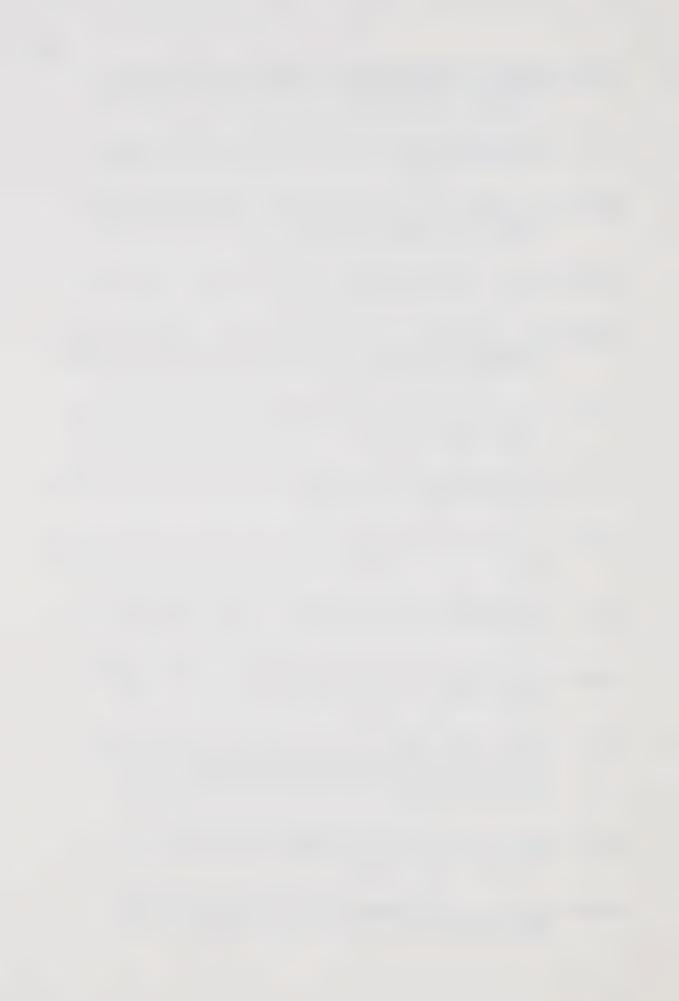Halpin, Andrew W., Manual for the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire, Columbus: Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University Press, 1956.
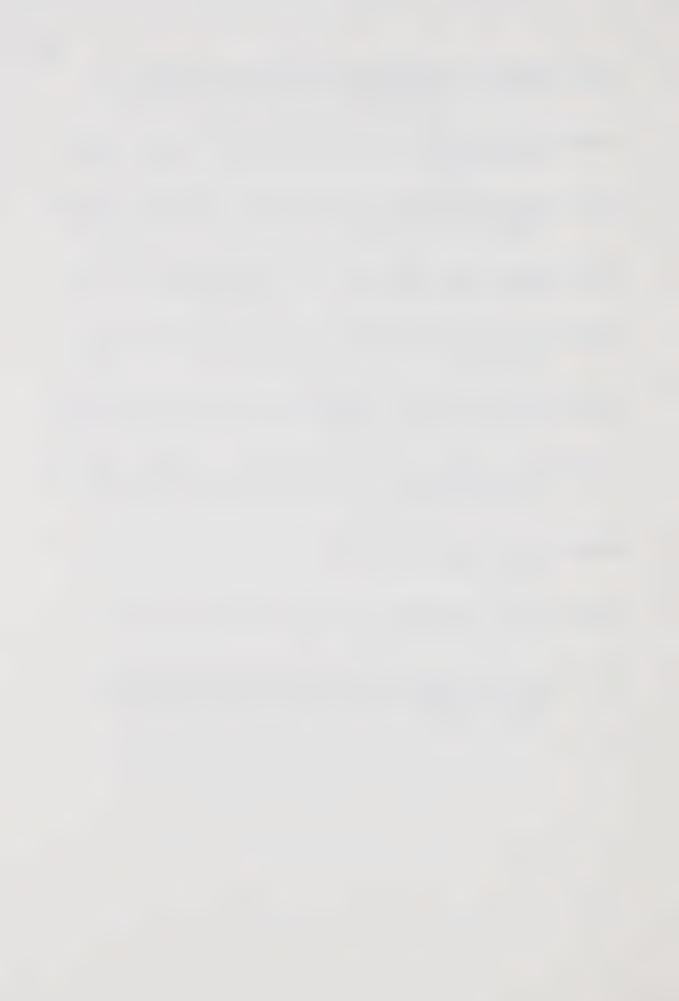
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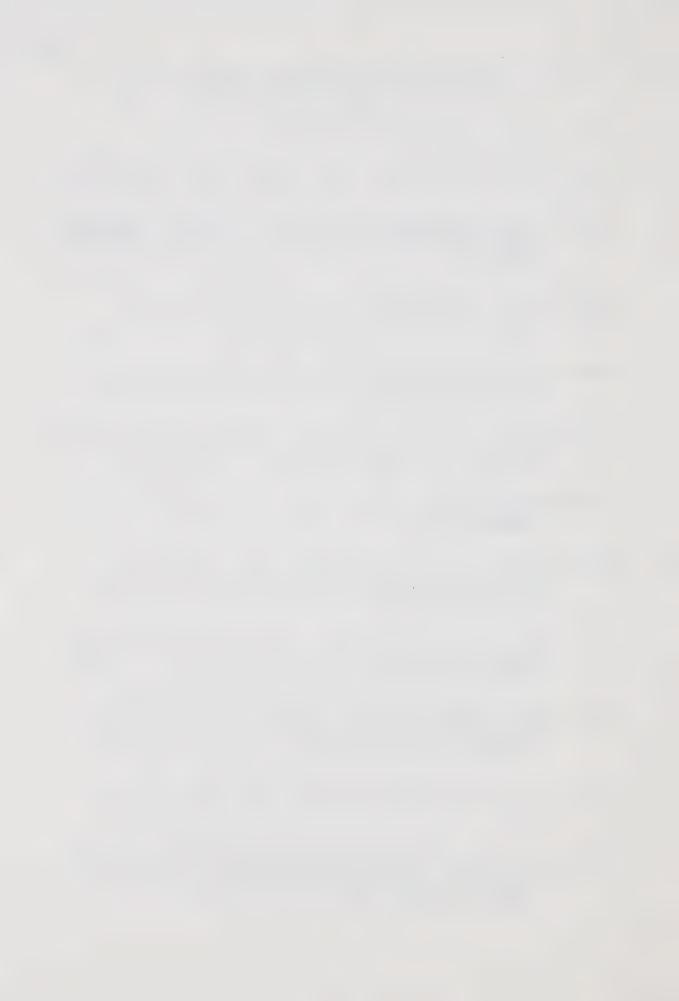
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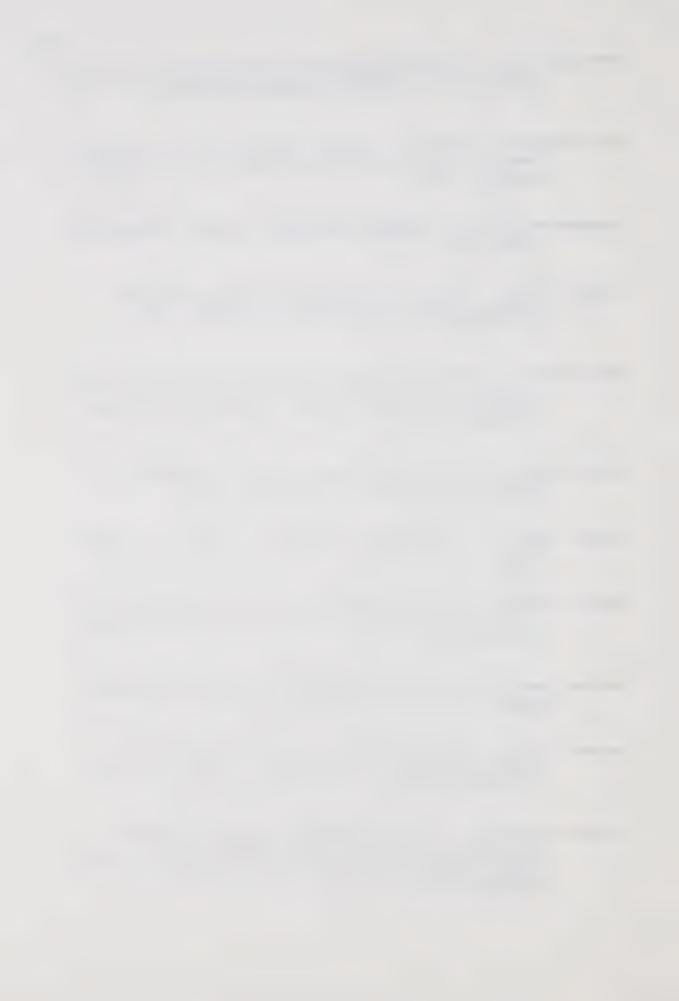   American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, 1959, pp. 849-852.

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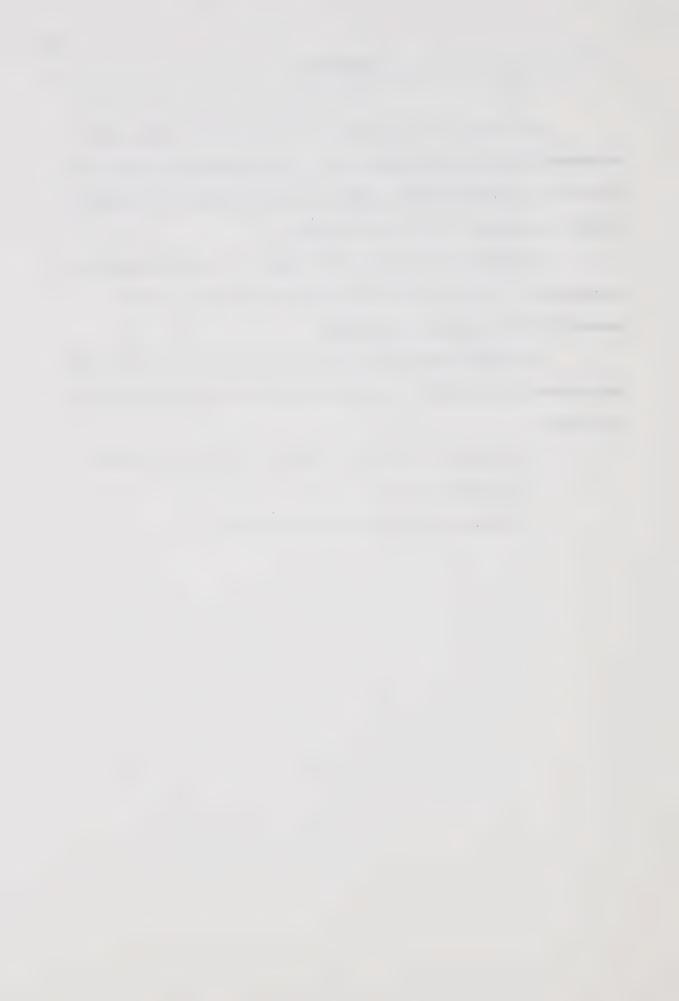   of Alberta, 1969).

APPENDIX A

The table in this appendix lists the various combinations of bureaucratic and social adaptations. An individual may adapt to society in one manner and may adapt to the bureaucratic environment, within the society, in a different manner.

The first set of means and ends are the organizational or bureaucratic. In this set the bureaucracy is the means and the education of the student is the ends.

The social means and ends, in the second set of means-ends, are as Meron defined them—the goal of success through institutionalized means.

+ Indicates conformity or support of the means or ends.

- Indicates rejection.

± Indicates rejection and substitution.

APPENDIX A

Combination of Bureaucratic and Social Adaptations

Bureaucratic		Social	Bureaucracy (Means)	Education (Ends)	Social Means	Social Ends
Innovation	↔	Conformity	−	+	+	+
Innovation	↔	Innovation	−	+	−	+
Innovation	↔	Ritualism	−	+	+	−
Innovation	↔	Retreatism	−	+	−	−
Innovation	↔	Rebellion	−	+	±	±
Ritualism	↔	Conformity	+	−	+	+
Ritualism	↔	Innovation	+	−	−	+
Ritualism	↔	Ritualism	+	−	+	−
Ritualism	↔	Retreatism	+	−	−	−
Ritualism	↔	Rebellion	+	−	±	±
Retreatism	↔	Conformity	−	−	+	+
Retreatism	↔	Innovation	−	−	−	+
Retreatism	↔	Ritualism	−	−	+	−
Retreatism	↔	Retreatism	−	−	−	−
Retreatism	↔	Rebellion	−	−	±	±
Rebellion	↔	Conformity	±	±	+	+
Rebellion	↔	Innovation	±	±	−	+
Rebellion	↔	Ritualism	±	±	+	−
Rebellion	↔	Retreatism	±	±	−	−
Rebellion	↔	Rebellion	±	±	±	±
Rebellion Innovation	↔ ↔	Conformity	±	+	+	+
Rebellion Innovation	↔ ↔	Innovation	±	+	−	+
Rebellion Innovation	↔	Ritualism	±	+	+	−
Rebellion Innovation	↔	Retreatism	±	+	−	−
Rebellion Innovation	↔	Rebellion	±	+	±	±

APPENDIX B

The table in this appendix examines the possible existence of each of the combinations of adaptations listed in Appendix A.

This table also examines the incongruity of the means and ends, and lists the theoretical anomie potential.

+ There is a strong indication that the combination exists or that the combination is anomie producing.

− There is little indication that the combination exists or that the combination is anomie producing.

* Anomie factor not considered due to a contradiction in terms in the combination or the theoretical strength of the minus in the possible existence column.

APPENDIX B

Possible Existence of Bureaucratic—Social Adaptations

Anomie Variable

Adaptation	Social Adaptation	Possible Existence	Anomie Producing
Innovation	Conformity	+	-
Innovation	Innovation	-	+
Innovation	Ritualism	+	-
Innovation	Retreatism	-	+
Innovation	Rebellion	-	*
Ritualism	Conformity	+	+
Ritualism	Innovation	-	*
Ritualism	Ritualism	+	+
Ritualism	Retreatism	-	*
Ritualism	Rebellion	-	*
Retreatism	Conformity	+	+
Retreatism	Innovation	+	+
Retreatism	Ritualism	+	+
Retreatism	Retreatism	+	-
Retreatism	Rebellion	-	*
Rebellion	Conformity	+	-
Rebellion	Innovation	+	+
Rebellion	Ritualism	+	-
Rebellion	Retreatism	+	-
Rebellion	Rebellion	+	-
Rebellion Innovation	Conformity	+	-
Rebellion-Innovation	Innovation	-	*
Rebellion-Innovation	Ritualism	+	-
Rebellion-Innovation	Retreatism	-	*
Rebellion-Innovation	Rebellion	-	*

APPENDIX C

The table in this appendix attempts to relate behaviors to particular adaptations. It may be more likely to find certain adaptive behaviors in some adaptations than in others.
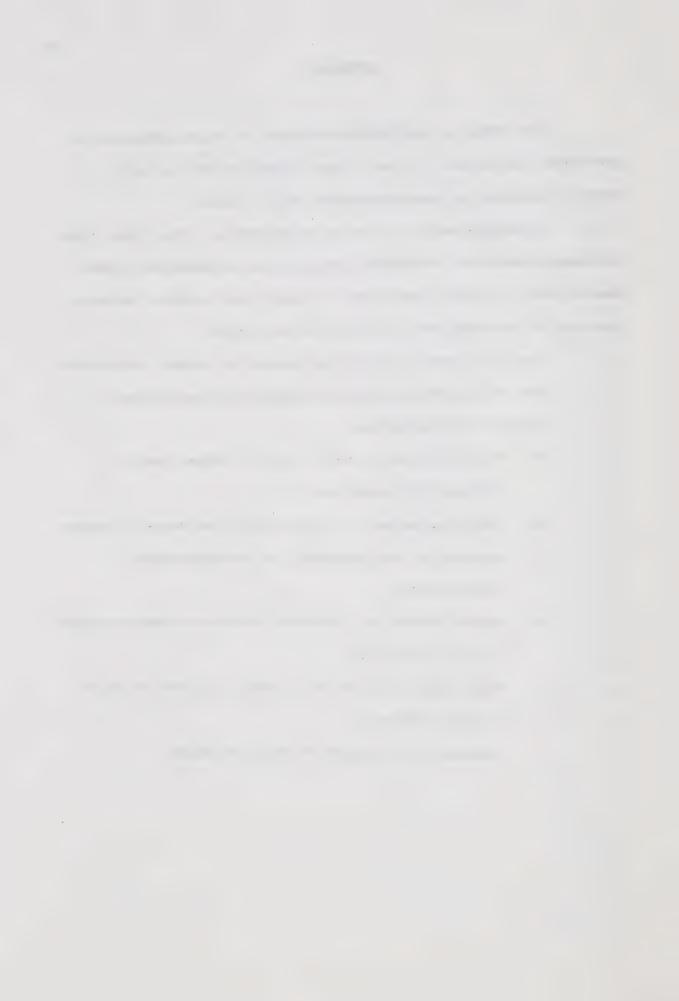
Behaviors may be a question of perception. This table lists how superordinate and subordinate may perceive the behavior of some adaptations. In other adaptations. In some cases behavior is not a question of superordinate or subordinate perception.

The "S" column indicates the theoretical student perception. The "B" column indicates the theoretical superordinate bureaucrat's perception.
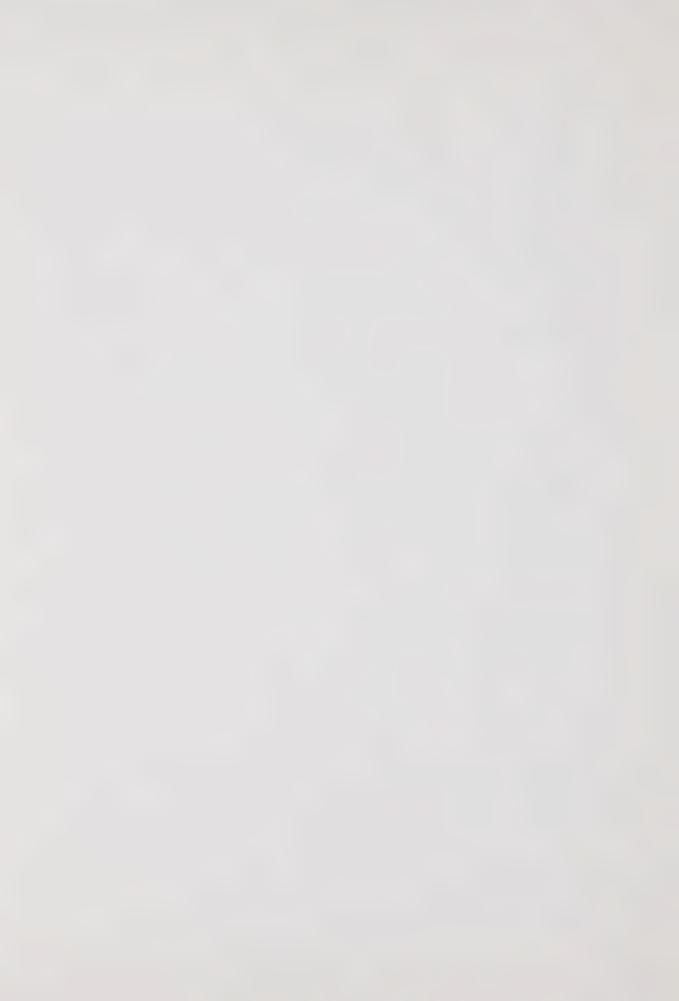
* The difference in the "S" and "B" column due to differential perception.

A. The other variable in this case is the degree of anomie produced by the incongruity of the means-ends relationships.

+ Strong theoretical indication that this behavior exists in this adaptation.

- Weak theoretical indication that this behavior exists in this adaptation.

± Indicates the strength of other variables.

APPENDIX C

Behaviors Related to Adaptations

	Innovation		Ritualism		Retreatism		Rebellion		Rebellion	Innovation
	S	B	S	B	S	B	S	B	S	B
Laziness	*−	*+	*+	*−	+	+	−	−	−	−
Apathy and Non-Involvement	*−	*+	*+	*−	+	+	−	−	−	−
Negative Involvement	−	−	*+	*−	*±	*−	*±	*+	*−	*+
Non-Self Product	*−	*+	*+	*−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Antagonism	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
Absenteeism Voluntary	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
Absenteeism Involuntary	A	A	A	A	−	−	+	+	+	+
Other Escape Mechanisms	A	A	A	A	+	+	−	−	−	−
Sanctification of the Means	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Instrumental Manipulation	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mysticism	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
Climbing the Organizational Ladder	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	±	±
Passiveness	±	±	±	±	+	+	±	±	±	±
Materialism	±	±	+	+	±	±	±	±	±	±
Projection	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Militant Action	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
Goal Displacement	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Mistrust	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dogmatic Domination	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Neophobia	+	+	+	+	±	±	−	−	−	−
Informal Group	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+